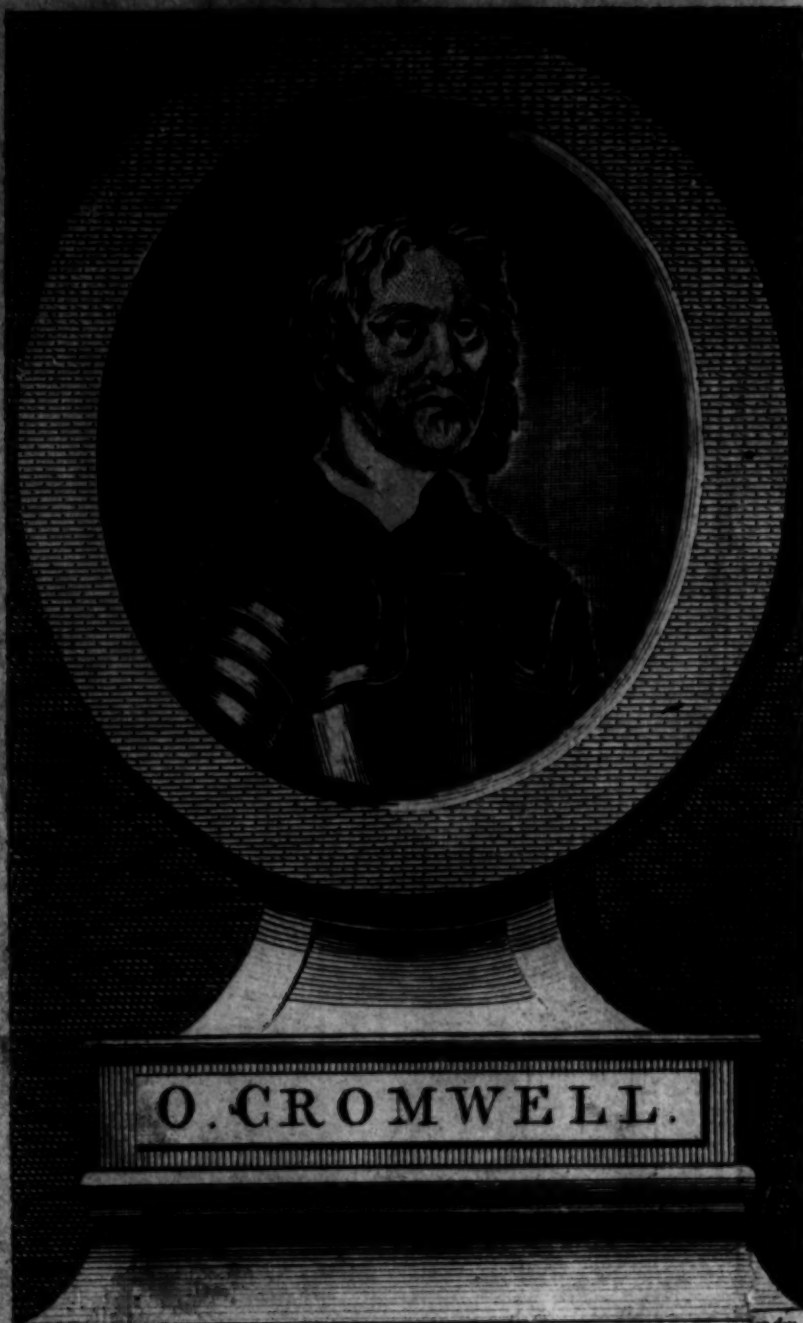


O. CROMWELL.

J. Smith del.

W. Smith sculp.



O. CROMWELL.

Second
A DESCRIPTION
OF THE MEMORABLE
S I E G E S
AND
B A T T L E S
IN THE
NORTH of ENGLAND,
THAT HAPPENED
DURING THE CIVIL WAR IN 1642, 1643, &c.
CHIEFLY CONTAINED IN THE
MEMOIRS OF GENERAL FAIRFAX,
AND
JAMES EARL OF DERBY:
To which is added,
THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL;
LIKEWISE AN IMPARTIAL
History of the Rebellions
IN THE YEARS 1715, AND 1745.

"No more may Britons against Britons rise,
"Nor her brave warriors meet with hateful eyes;
"Nor fields with glitt'ring steel be cover'd o'er;
"The warlike trumpet kindle rage no more:
"Then useleſs daggers into ſcythes ſhall bend,
"And the broad falchion into plowſhares end."

B O L T O N:
PRINTED BY J. DRAKE. 1785.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



PRINTED BY J. STANLEY

IN THE CITY OF OXFORD

TO WHICH IS

ADD'D THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE SECOND VOLUME

TO WHICH IS ADD'D THE LIFE OF
OLIVER CROMWELL
BY THE SAME AUTHOR
IN TWO VOLUMES
THE SECOND VOLUME

BY J. STANLEY

PRINTED BY J. STANLEY

1704

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To the PROMOTERS of this WORK,

*The Gentlemen, Tradesmen, and
Others, of the Town of Bolton and
elsewhere.*

GENTLEMEN,

IT would be deviating from a mode which custom has established, were the Compiler to break abruptly upon the perusers of this Work without filling up (with something) a few pages after the title-page, before the commencement of the principal matter.

The utility of history to men of all ranks and professions is a truth universally acknowledged, and universally confirmed. It would therefore be impertinent here to enumerate the advantage, pleasure, and satisfaction that must accrue from the detail of those particulars, which relate to that part of the country wherein Providence has been pleased to assign their lot.

However it is judged necessary, in order to give the reader some idea of what occasioned the Civil War in the years 1642, 1643, &c. to insert, as prefatory to this work, *The Speeches of two Members of Parliament*, delivered in the House of Commons at that period; as also *The Declaration and Protestation of the Lords and Commons in Parliament*, published to the world at that time; with *King Charles' Declaration to his subjects*, in answer.

*The S P E E C H of Sir Benjamin Rudyard, in
the House of Commons, July 9th, 1642, concerning
a War.*

‘ Mr. Speaker,

‘ IN the way we are, we have gone as far as words
‘ can carry us: We have voted our own rights
‘ and the King’s duty. No doubt there is a rela-
‘ tive duty between King and subjects,—*obedience*
‘ from a subject to a King, *protection* from a King
‘ to his people. The present unhappy distance be-
‘ tween his Majesty and the Parliament, makes the
‘ whole kingdom stand amazed, in a fearful ex-
‘ pectation of dismal calamities to fall upon it; it
‘ deeply and conscionably concerns this House,
‘ to compose and settle these threatening and ruin-
‘ ing distractions.

‘ Mr. Speaker, I am touched, I am pierced, with
‘ an apprehension of the honour of the House, and
‘ success of this Parliament. The best way to give
‘ a stop to these desperate imminent mischiefs, is
‘ to make a fair way for the King’s return hither;
‘ it will likewise give best satisfaction to the people,
‘ and be our best justification.

‘ Mr. Speaker, That we may the better consider
‘ the condition we are now in, let us set ourselves
‘ three years back; if any man then could have
‘ credibly told us, that within three years the
‘ Queen shall be gone out of *England* into the
‘ *Low-Countries*; for any cause whatsoever; the
‘ King shall remove from his Parliament, from *Lon-*
‘ *don* to *York*, declaring himself not to be safe here;
‘ that there shall be a total rebellion in *Ireland*,
‘ such discords and distempers both in church and
‘ state



' state here, as we now find, certainly we should
 ' have trembled at the thought of it; wherefore it
 ' is fit we should be sensible now we are in it. On
 ' the other side; if any man then could have cre-
 ' dibly told us, that within three years we shall have
 ' a *Parliament*, it would have been good news; that
 ' *Ship-money* should be taken away by act of parlia-
 ' ment, the reasons and grounds of it so rooted out
 ' as that neither it, nor any thing like it, can ever
 ' grow up again; that *monopolies*, the *High-Com-*
 ' *mission Court*, the *Star-Chamber*, the *Bishops' Votes*
 ' shall be taken away, the *Council-Table* regulated
 ' and restrained, the *Forests* bounded and limited;
 ' that we should have *Triennial Parliaments*; and
 ' more than that, a perpetual parliament, which
 ' none shall have power to dissolve without your-
 ' selves, we should have thought this a *dream of*
 ' *happiness*: yet now we are in the real possession
 ' of it, we do not enjoy it, although his Majesty has
 ' promised and published he will make all this good
 ' to us. We stand chiefly upon further security;
 ' whereas the very having of these things, is a con-
 ' venient fair security, mutually securing one ano-
 ' ther. There is more security offered even in
 ' this last answer of the King's, by removing the
 ' personal votes of the popish Lords, by the better
 ' education of papists children, by supplying the de-
 ' fects of laws against recusants; besides what else
 ' may be enlarged and improved by a select com-
 ' mittee of both Houses named for that purpose.
 ' Wherefore, Sir, let us beware that we do not
 ' contend for such a hazardous unsafe security, as
 ' may endanger the loss of what we have already.
 ' Let us not think that we have *nothing*, because
 ' we have not *all* we desire; and though we had,

‘ yet we cannot make a mathematical security, all
 ‘ human caution is susceptible of corruption and
 ‘ failing; God’s Providence will not be bound;
 ‘ success must be his: He that observes the wind
 ‘ and rain, shall neither sow nor reap; if he do no-
 ‘ thing till he can secure the weather, he shall have
 ‘ but an ill harvest.

‘ Mr. *Speaker*, It now behoves us to call up all
 ‘ the wisdom we have about us, for we are at the
 ‘ very brink of combustion and confusion; if blood
 ‘ begins once to touch blood, we shall presently
 ‘ fall into a *certain misery*, and must attend an *un-*
 ‘ *certain success*, God knows when, and God knows
 ‘ what; every man here is bound in conscience to
 ‘ employ his uttermost endeavours to prevent the
 ‘ effusion of blood: Blood is a crying sin, it pol-
 ‘ lutes a land, let us save our liberties and our
 ‘ estates; as we may save our souls too. Now I
 ‘ have clearly delivered my own conscience, I leave
 ‘ every man freely to his.”

*Mr. Whitlock’s SPEECH concerning a War,
 and the raising of an Army.*

‘ Mr. *Speaker*,

‘ THE question which was last propounded a-
 ‘ bout raising of forces, naming a general, and of-
 ‘ ficers of an army, hath been very rare before
 ‘ this time in this Assembly; and it seems to me
 ‘ to set us at pit’s brink, ready to plunge ourselves
 ‘ into an ocean of troubles and miseries, and (if it
 ‘ could be) into more than a civil war brings with
 ‘ it.

‘ Give

‘ Give me leave, Sir, to consider this unhappy
 ‘ subject in the beginning, progress, and issue of it.

‘ Surely, Sir, our enemies of the Romish church
 ‘ have left no evil arts untried, to bring us to
 ‘ our present posture, and will yet leave none un-
 ‘ attempted to make our breaches wider, well
 ‘ knowing that nothing will more advance their
 ‘ empire than our divisions.

‘ Our misery, whom they account heretics, is
 ‘ their joy, and our distractions will be their glory,
 ‘ and all evil arts and ways to bring calamities
 ‘ upon us, they will esteem meritorious.

‘ But I look upon another beginning of our civil
 ‘ war; God blessed us with a long and flourishing
 ‘ peace, and we turned his grace into wanton-
 ‘ ness, and peace would not satisfy us without
 ‘ luxury, nor our plenty without debauchery; in-
 ‘ stead of sobriety and thankfulness for our mercies,
 ‘ we have provoked the giver of them by our sins
 ‘ and wickedness, to punish us (as we may well
 ‘ fear) by a civil war, to make us executioners of
 ‘ Divine vengeance upon ourselves.

‘ It is strange to note how we have insensibly slid
 ‘ into the beginning of a civil war, by one unex-
 ‘ pected accident after another, as waves of the
 ‘ the sea, which hath brought us thus far, and we
 ‘ scarce know how, but from paper combats, by
 ‘ *Declarations, Remonstrances, Protestations, Votes,*
 ‘ *Messages, Answers, and Replies.* We are now
 ‘ come to the question of raising forces, naming a
 ‘ General and officers of our army.—The conse-
 ‘ quence of which will be.—We must surrender
 ‘ up our laws, liberties, properties and lives, into
 ‘ the hands of *mercenaries*, whose rage and violence
 ‘ will command us and all we have, and reason,
 ‘ honour

‘ honour, and justice will leave our land, the igno-
 ‘ ble will rule the noble, and baseness will be pre-
 ‘ ferred before virtue, prophaneness before piety.

‘ Of a potent people we shall make ourselves
 ‘ weak, and be the instruments of our own ruin;
 ‘ we shall burn our own houses, lay waste our own
 ‘ fields, pillage our own goods, open our own
 ‘ veins, and eat out our own bowels.

‘ You will hear other sounds besides those of
 ‘ drums and trumpets, the clattering of armour,
 ‘ the roaring of guns, the groans of wounded and
 ‘ dying men, the shrieks of deflowered women, the
 ‘ cries of widows and orphans, and all on your
 ‘ account, which makes it the more to be lamented.

‘ Pardon, Sir, the warmth of my expression on
 ‘ this argument, it is to prevent a flame which I
 ‘ see kindled in the midst of us, that may consume
 ‘ us to ashes. The sum of the progress of civil
 ‘ war is the rage of fire and sword, and (which is
 ‘ worse) of brutish men.

‘ What the issue of it will be, no man alive can
 ‘ tell: Probably some few of us now here may live
 ‘ to see the end of it. It hath been said, *That he*
 ‘ *that draws his sword against his Prince must throw*
 ‘ *away the scabbard.* Those differences are scarce
 ‘ to be reconciled: These commotions are like the
 ‘ deep seas, which being once stirred, are not soon
 ‘ appeased.

‘ I with the observation of the *Duke de Rohan*,
 ‘ in his *Interest of Christendom*, may prove a caution
 ‘ not a prophecy; he saith of *England*, *That it is*
 ‘ *a great creature, which cannot be destroyed but by*
 ‘ *its own hand.* And there is not a more likely
 ‘ hand than that of a civil war to do it.

‘ Yet, Sir, when I have said this, I am not for a
 ‘ tame

‘tame resignation of our religion, lives, and liberties into the hands of our adversaries, who seek to devour us; nor do I think it inconsistent with your great wisdom, to prepare for a just and necessary defence of them.

‘It was truly observed by a noble gentleman, That if our enemies find us provided to resist their attempts upon us, it will be the likeliest way to bring them to an accord with us. And upon this ground I am for the question.

‘But I humbly move you to consider, Whether it be not yet too soon to come to it? We have tried by the proposals of peace to his Majesty, and they have been rejected: Let us try yet again, and appoint a committee who may review our former propositions. And where they find the matter of them (as our affairs now are) fit to be altered, that they present the alteration to the House, and their opinions; and that as far as may stand with the security of us and our cause, we may yield our endeavours to prevent the miseries which look black upon us, and to settle a good accommodation, so that there may be no strife between us and those of the other party, for we are brethren.”

After great debates, it was resolved, That an army should be raised for the safety of the King’s person, defence of both houses of Parliament, and of those who had obeyed their orders and commands, and preserving of the true religion, the laws, liberty, and peace of the kingdom; of which army the Earl of *Essex* was appointed General.

A De.

A Declaration and Protestation of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, to this Kingdom, and to the whole World, October 22d, 1642.

WE the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, do in the presence of Almighty God, for the satisfaction of our consciences, and the discharge of that great trust which lies upon us, make this Protestation and Declaration to this kingdom and nation, and to the whole world, That no private passion or respect, no evil intention to his Majesty's person, no design to the prejudice of his just honour and authority, engaged us to raise forces, and take up arms against the author of this war, wherein the kingdom is now inflamed.

And we have always desired from our hearts and souls, manifested in our actions and proceedings, and in several humble petitions and remonstrances to his Majesty, professed our loyalty and obedience to his crown, readiness and resolution to defend his person, and support his estate with our lives and fortunes, to the uttermost of our power. That we have been willing to pass by, not only those injuries, ignominies, slanders, and false accusations, wherewith we have been privately oppressed and grieved, but likewise many public incroachments, and high usurpations, to the prejudice of religion and liberty, divers bloody, traiterous, and cruel practices and designs, for the utter ruin and destruction of the church and state, so as we might for the time to come have been secured from that wicked and malignant party, those pernicious and traiterous counsels, who have been the authors and fomenters of the former mischiefs and present calamities

lamities which have, and still do distemper this church and state.

That for the same purpose, and for the avoiding of blood, we directed the Earl of *Essex*, Lord-General, by himself or others, in some safe or honourable way, to cause to be delivered an humble petition, wherein we do desire nothing from his Majesty, but that he would return in peace to his Parliament, and by their faithful counsel and advice, compose the distemper and confusion abounding in his kingdoms, as he is bound to do: we therein profess in the sight of Almighty God, which is the strongest obligation that any christian, and the most solemn public faith which any such state as a parliament can give, that we would receive him with all honour, yield him all true obedience and subjection; and faithfully endeavour to defend his person and estate from all danger, and to the uttermost of our power to establish him and his people in all the blessings of a glorious and happy reign, as it is more largely expressed in that petition.

For the delivery of which petition, his Excellency hath twice sent unto the King, humbly desiring a safe-conduct for those who would be employed therein; but his Majesty refused to give any such safe-conduct, or to receive this humble and dutiful petition by any address from the Earl of *Essex*, saying, That if justice had been done, the gentleman which brought the second message could not expect his liberty.

By all which and many other evidences and inducements, we are fully convinced in our judgment and belief, that the King's counsels and resolutions are so engaged to the popish party, for
the

' the suppression, and extermination of the true reli-
 ' gion, that all hopes of peace and protection are
 ' excluded, and that it is fully intended to give sa-
 ' tisfaction to the papists, by alteration of religion,
 ' and to the cavaliers and other soldiers, by ex-
 ' posing the wealth of the good subjects, especially
 ' of the city of *London*, to be sacked, plundered,
 ' and spoiled by them.

' That for the better effecting hereof great num-
 ' bers of papists have in shew conformed them-
 ' selves to the protestant religion, by coming to the
 ' church, receiving the sacrament, and taking the
 ' oaths of allegiance and supremacy which some of
 ' our own priests have encouraged them to do, by
 ' maintaining, That they might do all these things
 ' and yet continue good catholics; under which co-
 ' ver his Majesty did at first begin to strengthen
 ' himself, those of that religion being weak and
 ' unable to endure the envy and discontent which
 ' the arming of a papist would procure in the king-
 ' dom, and therefore endeavoured to keep off all
 ' jealousies and suspicions, by many fearful oaths
 ' and imprecations, concerning his purpose of main-
 ' taining the protestant religion, and the laws of
 ' the kingdom, causing some protest papists to be
 ' discharged out of his army, and none to be re-
 ' ceived, that would not endure the test of coming
 ' to church, receiving the sacrament, and taking
 ' the oaths of allegiance.

' That his Majesty being now grown stronger,
 ' and able as he conceives, to make good his own
 ' ends by arms; his confidence in the priests doth
 ' more clearly appear: persons imprisoned for
 ' priests, and Jesuits have been released out of the
 ' goal at *Lancaster*, protest papists have been in-
 ' vited

' yited to rise and take up arms, commissions under
 ' his Majesty's authority have been granted to ma-
 ' ny of them for places of command in this war;
 ' with power to raise men, and great numbers have
 ' been raised by them, and they daily increase;
 ' as namely, to Sir Nicholas Thornton, Sir Tho-
 ' mas Howard. Bart. Sir Edward Widdrington;
 ' Sir William Kiddal, Mr. Smith of Asb, Mr. George
 ' Wray, Mr. Edward Gray of Morph-Castle, Mr.
 ' Lancelot Errington of Dennington, Mr. Lancelot
 ' Holthy, all of Northumberland, Bishoprick of Dur-
 ' ham, and Newcastle; to Mr. Clifton, Mr. William
 ' Walter, Sir William Garrard, Bart. Sir Cecil Staf-
 ' ford, Mr. Anderson of Lostock in the county of
 ' Lancaster, and divers forces are raised and paid
 ' by the Earl of Worcester, and his son the Lord
 ' Herbert, a notorious papist, is made General of
 ' all South Wales: And we are informed out of
 ' Yorkshire, by divers persons of great worth and
 ' quality, That those that raise forces in those parts
 ' for his Majesty, do arm and employ papists, and
 ' use their advice in their consultations; all which
 ' is contrary to the solemn oaths, protestations and
 ' execrations whereby his Majesty bound himself
 ' to maintain the protestant religion, and the laws
 ' of the land, by which he endeavoured to get a
 ' confidence in the people of his good intentions;
 ' which, how well it is answered, we leave to the
 ' world to judge.

' That Sir John Hinderfon and Colonel Cockram,
 ' men of ill report, both for religion and honesty,
 ' have been sent to *Hamburg* and *Denmark*, as we
 ' are credibly informed, to raise forces there and
 ' to bring them to *Newcastle*, and to join with the
 ' Earl of *Newcastle*, and the army of papists which

' they intend to raise there; and that divers en-
 ' deavours have been used in other foreign parts
 ' to bring in strange forces into the kingdom;
 ' that the King hath received about him divers
 ' papists from *Ireland*, some of which are indicted
 ' of high treason for their rebellion there, notori-
 ' ously known to have been in actual rebellion;
 ' namely, the Lord *Taffe*, Sir *Oungane*, proclaimed
 ' a rebel, Col. *Fitz-Williams*, Dr. *Meara* indicted
 ' for the rebellion in *Ireland* and fled for the same,
 ' and yet physician to Prince *Rupert*; and his Ma-
 ' jesty hath sent for the petition of the *Irish* rebels
 ' which the justices had stopt, with evident expres-
 ' sions of favour to them, whereby that kingdom
 ' is like to become an unfit habitation of any pro-
 ' testants, and a seminary of war and treason against
 ' this kingdom.

' That divers *English* traitors, actors in the for-
 ' mer designs against the kingdom and parliament
 ' are the chief counsellors and actors in this un-
 ' natural war against his subjects, as the Lord *Dig-*
 ' *by*, *Oneal*, *Wilmot*, *Pollard*, *Ashburnham* and others.

' That we have likewise been credibly informed
 ' that divers Jesuits and priests in foreign parts,
 ' make great collections of money for the relief of
 ' the papists in *Ireland*, and the furthering of his
 ' Majesty's designs here against the parliament,
 ' and that by them, and those others fled out of
 ' this kingdom for treason, great means are made
 ' to take up the differences between some Princes
 ' of the Romish religion, that so they might unite
 ' their strength for the extermination of the protes-
 ' tant religion, wherein principally this kingdom,
 ' and the kingdom of *Scotland* are concerned, as
 ' making the greatest body of the reformed reli-
 ' gion

‘ gion in Christendom, and best able to defend
 ‘ themselves, and succour other churches.

‘ For all such reasons we are resolved to enter
 ‘ into a solemn oath and covenant with God, to
 ‘ give up ourselves, our lives and fortunes into
 ‘ his hands, and that we will, to the uttermost of
 ‘ our power and judgment, maintain his truth,
 ‘ and conform ourselves to his will, that we will
 ‘ defend this cause with the hazard of our lives
 ‘ against the King’s army, and against all that
 ‘ join with them in the prosecution of this wicked
 ‘ design, according to the form to be agreed upon
 ‘ by both Houses of Parliament, to be subscribed
 ‘ by our hands; and that we will for the said ends
 ‘ associate ourselves, and unite with all the well-
 ‘ affected in the city of *London*, and other parts of
 ‘ his Majesty’s dominions.

‘ That we expect our brethren of *Scotland*, ac-
 ‘ cording to the *Act of Pacification*, whereby the
 ‘ two kingdoms are mutually bound to suppress all
 ‘ debates and differences, to the disturbance of the
 ‘ public peace, that they will help and assist us in
 ‘ defence of the cause, which if the popish party
 ‘ prevail, must either invalid them in that altera-
 ‘ tion of religion which will be made here or en-
 ‘ gage them in a war against this kingdom, to de-
 ‘ fend their own religion and liberty, and we doubt
 ‘ not but the God of truth, and the great protector
 ‘ of his people, will assist and enable us in this our
 ‘ just defence, to restrain the malice and fury of
 ‘ those that seek our ruin, and to secure the per-
 ‘ sons, estates, and liberties of all that join with us,
 ‘ and to procure and establish the safety of religion,
 ‘ and fruition of our laws and liberties in this and
 ‘ all other his Majesty’s dominions, which we do
 ‘ here

‘ here again profess before the ever living God, to
 ‘ be the chief end of all our counsels and resolu-
 ‘ tions, without any intention or desire to hurt or
 ‘ ruin his Majesty, either in his person or just
 ‘ power.”

*His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving subjects,
 upon occasion of a late printed paper, entituled, A
 Declaration and Protestation of the Lords and
 Commons in Parliament, to this Kingdom and
 the whole world, October 22d, 1642.*

‘ IF in truth the framers of this Declaration
 ‘ are not engaged by any private passion or re-
 ‘ spect, by any evil intention to our person, or de-
 ‘ sign to the prejudice of our just honour and au-
 ‘ thority to raise these forces and armies against us,
 ‘ as they call Almighty God to witness they are
 ‘ not, they will think it their duty to disclaim the
 ‘ protection of the conductors of that army, who
 ‘ the next day after this so solemn protestation,
 ‘ used their utmost power, by the strength of that
 ‘ army, to have destroyed, and put our person
 ‘ (for whose defence they would make the world
 ‘ believe this army is raised) into as much danger
 ‘ as the skill and malice of desperate rebels could
 ‘ do, otherwise this protestation now made, will
 ‘ appear of the same nature with those they pro-
 ‘ mised to make us a glorious king, when by their
 ‘ nineteen propositions they endeavoured to strip
 ‘ us of all those rights which made us a king, and
 ‘ them subjects.

‘ What those actions and proceedings have been
 ‘ which have manifested their loyalty and obedi-
 ‘ ence

'ence unto us will be as hard to find as their
 'humble petitions and remonstrances, when, in
 'truth their actions have been the greatest scorns
 'of our authority, and their petitions the greatest
 'reproaches and challenges of us; which any age
 'have produced; and we have not only the clear
 'evidence of our own conscience, but the testi-
 'mony of all good men, that we left no action
 'unperformed on our part, which might have pre-
 'vented the misery and confusion which the am-
 'bition, fury, and malice of these seditious per-
 'sons have brought upon this poor Kingdom: nei-
 'ther is there any thing wanting to the happiness
 'of church or state, but that peace and order
 'which the faction of these men have robbed
 'them of.

' But they direct their General, the Earl of *Es-*
 'sex, to deliver an humble petition to us, wherein
 'they desire nothing from us, but that we would
 'return in peace to our parliament, and by their
 'faithful counsel and advice, to compose the dis-
 'tempers and confusions abounding in our king-
 'doms, as we are bound to do. We were never
 'so backward in receiving, or so slow in answering
 'the petitions of either or both Houses of Parlia-
 'ment, that there was need by an army to quick-
 'en us, which either or both Houses of Parliament
 'have, in no case, no more shadow of right or
 'power to raise by any law, custom, or privilege,
 'than they have by their votes to take away the
 'lives and fortunes of all the subjects of *England*;
 'yet the framers of this declaration take it un-
 'kindly, that upon their profession in the sight of
 'Almighty God (which is, they say, the strongest
 'assurance that any christian can give) we did not
 ' put

' put ourself into their hands; those hands which
 ' were lifted up against us, and filled at the same
 ' time with arms to destroy us, and leave a strength
 ' God hath supplied us with, of good and faithful
 ' subjects, who notwithstanding all their threats
 ' and menaces, had brought themselves to our
 ' assistance. If that petition had been so humble
 ' as they pretended, they would not have lost the
 ' advantage of publishing it in this their declara-
 ' tion, that the world might as well have been wit-
 ' nesses of our refusal of peace, as it hath been of
 ' their disdain of any way to it, when they rejected
 ' our several earnest offers of a treaty.

' But why did they not send this said humble
 ' petition? His Excellency twice sent unto us
 ' for a safe-conduct for those that should be em-
 ' ployed therein, and we refused to give any, or
 ' to receive the humble and dutiful petition. Sure
 ' when our good subjects shall understand the
 ' strange enmity between these men and truth, the
 ' no-conscience they use in publishing, and inform-
 ' ing those by whom they pretend to be trusted,
 ' things monstrous and contrary to their own
 ' knowledge, they will not be less offended with
 ' their fallhood to them, than their treason to us.
 ' 'Tis well known, we never refused to give ad-
 ' mittance to any message or petition from either
 ' or both Houses of Parliament; their messengers
 ' have been received and entertained, not only
 ' with that safety, but with that candour, as is
 ' due to the best subjects, when their errand had
 ' been full of reproach and scorn, and the bringers
 ' bold, arrogant and seditious in their demeanours,
 ' and therefore there needed to have been no more
 ' scruple made in the delivery of this, than the
 ' other

other petitions which have been brought us. The truth is, we were no sooner acquainted at *Shrewsbury*, by the Earl of *Dorset*, that he had received a letter from the Earl of *Essex*, intimating that he had a petition from both Houses to be delivered to us, and to that purpose asking a safe-conduct for those who should be sent; but we returned this answer, *That as we had never refused to receive any petition from our Houses of Parliament, so we should be ready to give such a reception and answer to this, as should be fit, and that the bringers of it should come and go with all safety, only we required, that none of those persons whom we had particularly accused of high treason, should be by colour of that petition employed to us.* After this we heard no more till a second letter, at least a fortnight after the first to the Earl of *Dorset*, informed us, that our former answer was declared to be a breach of privilege, that we would not allow any messengers to come to us; that is, we were not content that such persons who had conspired our death, might securely come into our presence. Our second answer differed little from our former; insisting, *That the address should not be made by any of those persons whom we had particularly accused of high treason, amongst whom the Earl of Essex himself was one; but declaring that our ear should be still open to hear any petition from our two Houses of Parliament.* Whether this was a denial from us to receive their petition; or whether, if our two Houses of Parliament had indeed desired to treat with us by petition, they might not as well have sent it to us, as they have done since their instructions to their ambassadors into *Ireland*, and their new bill for rooting out

c

episcopacy,

' episcopacy, and devising a new form of church
 ' government, let all the world judge. We have
 ' reason to believe, that the petition then prepared
 ' for us (if we have seen the true copy of it) was
 ' thought by the persons trusted for the presenting
 ' of it, fitter to be delivered after a battle and full
 ' conquest of us, than in the head of our army,
 ' when it might seem somewhat in our power, whe-
 ' ther we would be deposed or no. For that con-
 ' tinued dishonest accusation of our inclination to
 ' the papists, which the authors of it in their own
 ' consciences (which will one day be dreadful to
 ' them) know to be most unjust and groundless—
 ' we can say no more, and we can do no more to
 ' the satisfaction of the world. If they know that
 ' the Romish priests have encouraged those of that
 ' religion to conform themselves to the protestant
 ' religion, by coming to church, receiving the sa-
 ' crament, and taking the oaths of allegiance and
 ' supremacy, they are more conversant with the
 ' subtleties of them than we are; but we must con-
 ' fess, till we be certain that they have found that
 ' way to deceive us, that is, to delude the laws
 ' which are against them, we shall in charity be-
 ' lieve their conformity to be real, and not pre-
 ' tended. But that any priests or Jesuits imprison-
 ' ed have been released by us out of the goal of
 ' *Lancaster*, or any other goal, is as false, to use an
 ' expression of their own, as the father of lies could
 ' invent. Neither are the persons named in that
 ' declaration to whom commissions are said to be
 ' granted for places of command in this war, so
 ' much as known to us; nor have they any com-
 ' mand, or, to our knowledge, are present in
 ' our army. And 'tis strange, that our oaths and
 ' protestations

' protestations before Almighty God for the main-
 ' tenance of the protestant religion should be so
 ' slighted in the end of that declaration, when in
 ' the beginning of it, it is acknowledged to be the
 ' strongest obligation and assurance that any chris-
 ' tian can give; we desire to have our protesta-
 ' tions believed by the evidence of our actions;
 ' but they are informed (and that is ground e-
 ' nough for them to lay the basest imputation up-
 ' on their Sovereign) *That Sir John Henderson*
 ' *and Col. Cockram (men of ill report both for re-*
 ' *ligion and honesty) are sent to Hamborough and*
 ' *Denmark (we thought we should have heard no*
 ' *more news from Denmark) to raise foreign forces*
 ' *and to bring them hither.* We have before in our
 ' declarations (sufficient to satisfy any honest man)
 ' declared our opinion and resolution concerning
 ' foreign force; and we had never greater cause to
 ' be confident of security in our own subjects,
 ' and therefore cannot believe so vile a scandal
 ' can make any impression in sober men, let a list
 ' of the nobility and gentry about us, and in our
 ' service be viewed, and will they not be found
 ' the most zealous in the protestant religion, the
 ' most eminent in reputation, of the greatest for-
 ' tunes, and the greatest fame, the most public
 ' lovers of their country and most earnest assertors
 ' of the liberty of the subject, that this kingdom
 ' hath; how different the reputation of the prin-
 ' cipal ring-leaders of this faction and rebellion are,
 ' how careful they are of employing virtuous and
 ' honest men, is apparent to all the world, when
 ' they have entertained all the desperate and neces-
 ' sitous persons (whereof very many are papists,
 ' which we speak knowingly, as having taken se-

‘veral of them prisoners) they can draw to them;
 ‘and when they supersede a proceeding at com-
 ‘mon law for an odious and infamous crime, that
 ‘Mr. *Griffin* may have the liberty to keep them
 ‘company in this rebellion.

‘For our affection and gracious inclination to
 ‘the city of *London*, and how far we are from any
 ‘such purpose, as those impious men charge us
 ‘with, appears in our late proclamation, in which
 ‘we declare the suburbs to be comprehended, as
 ‘well as the cities of *London* and *Westminster*, to
 ‘which we doubt not they will give that credit
 ‘and obedience, as we shall have cause to com-
 ‘mend their loyalty in joining with us to suppress
 ‘this rebellion, which uncontrouled, in a short
 ‘time must make that place most miserable.

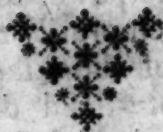
‘Of the oath and covenant which they threaten
 ‘us with, if it be to engage them to do, or not to
 ‘do any thing contrary to their oaths, they have
 ‘already taken off allegiance and supremacy, as it
 ‘cannot oblige them being taken, so we doubt not,
 ‘our good subjects will easily discern that it is a
 ‘snare to betray and lead them into a condition
 ‘of the same guilt, and so of the same danger with
 ‘themselves; and we must therefore declare, who
 ‘ever shall hereafter suffer himself to be cozened
 ‘by these stratagems, and take such a voluntary
 ‘oath against us, we shall impute it to so much
 ‘malice, as will render him incapable of our par-
 ‘don, and shall proceed against him as a desperate
 ‘promoter of sedition, and an enemy to the king-
 ‘dom.

‘Let all honest men remember the many gra-
 ‘cious acts we have passed this parliament for the
 ‘ease and benefit of our people, that when there

‘was

'was nothing left undone or unoffered by us,
 'which might make this nation happy, these mis-
 'chievous contrivers of ruin, instead of acknow-
 'ledging our grace and justice, upbraided us with
 'all the reproaches malice or cunning could in-
 'vent, in a remonstrance to the people (a thing
 'never heard of till that time) that having thus in-
 'censed mutinous and seditious minds, they made
 'use of them to awe the Parliament, drave us, and
 'the major part of both Houses from our city of
 'London, that they took away our fort and town
 'of Hull from us, kept us from thence by force of
 'arms, and imployed our own magazine against
 'us; that they seized upon our royal navy, and
 'with it chased our good subjects, and kept all
 'supply from us: that they voted away our nega-
 'tive voice, and then raised a formidable army to
 'destroy us; that when they had thus compelled
 'us, by the help of such of our good subjects,
 'who against the fury of these men durst continue
 'loyal, to raise some power for our defence, they
 'absolutely and peremptorily refused to treat with
 'us for the peace of the kingdom. And lastly,
 'that on the twenty-third day of *October* they
 'brought this army (raised for the defence of our
 'person) into the field against us, and used their
 'best skill and means to destroy us, and our chil-
 'dren; we say, whoever remembers and con-
 'siders this progress of theirs, will think of no
 'other covenant than to join with us in the ap-
 'prehending the authors of this miserable civil
 'war, that posterity may not with shame and in-
 'dignation find, that a few schismatical, ambitious
 'persons, were able to bring such a flourishing
 'glorious kingdom, which hath so long rested the
 'envy

'envy of christendom, to a speedy desolation, to
 'satisfy their own pride and ambition; and we
 'doubt not our good subjects of *Scotland*, will
 'never think themselves engaged by the *Act of*
 '*Pacification* (to which we willingly consented) to
 'assist a rebellion against their own natural King,
 'for the assistance of persons accused, and noto-
 'riously known to be guilty of high treason, the
 'bringing of whom to condign punishment, would
 '(with God's blessing) be a speedy means of hap-
 'piness and peace to our three kingdoms."



MEMOIRS

O F

GENERAL FAIRFAX:

(WRITTEN BY HIMSELF)

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS SIEGES AND
BATTLES IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

IN gratitude to God for his many mercies and deliverances, and not to deprive myself of the comfort of their remembrance, I shall set down, as they come into my mind, those things wherein I have found the wonderful assistance of God to me in the time of war in the north; though not in that methodical and polished manner as might have been done, being intended only for my own satisfaction, and help of my memory.

My father was called forth by the importunity of his country to join with them in their own defence, which was confirmed by a commission from the parliament.

The first action we had was at *Bradford*; but of this more hereafter. A few days after this, Captain *Hotham* with three troops of horse, and some

some dragoons came to us: Then we marched to *Leeds*; but the enemy having notice of it, quitted the town, and in haste fled to *York*.

We advanced to *Tadcaster*, eight miles from *York*, that we might have more room, and be less burthen some to our friends; and being encreased to one thousand men, it was thought fit that we should keep the pass at *Wetherby*, for the securing of the West-Riding, or the greatest part of it, from whence our chief supplies came.

I was sent to *Wetherby* with three hundred foot, and forty horse; the enemy's next design from *York*, was to fall upon my quarters there, being a place very open, and easy for them to assault, there being so many back-ways, and friends enough to direct them and give them intelligence.

About six o'clock one morning they fell upon us with eight hundred horse and foot, the woods thereabout favouring them so much that our scouts had no notice of them, and no alarm was given till they were ready to enter the town: Which they might easily do, the guards being all asleep in houses; for in the beginning of the war, men were as impatient of duty as they were ignorant of it.

I myself was only on horse-back, and going out of the other end of the town to *Tadcaster*, where my father lay, when one came running after me, and told me the enemy was entering the town; I presently galloped to the court of guard, where I found not above four men at their arms, as I remember, two serjeants and two pikemen, who stood with me when Sir *Thomas Glenham*, with about six or seven commanders more, charged us; and after a short but smart encounter they retired,

in



in which one Major *Carr* was slain; and by this time more of the guards were got to their arms. I must confess I knew no strength but the powerful hand of God that gave them this repulse.

After this they made another attempt, in which Capt. *Atkinson* (on our part) was slain: And here again there fell out another remarkable providence, during this conflict, our magazine was blown up. This struck such a terror into the enemy, believing we had cannon, which they were before informed we had not, that they instantly retreated; and though I had but a few horse, we pursued the enemy some miles, and took many prisoners: We here lost about eight or ten men, whereof seven were blown up with powder; the enemy lost many more.

At this time the Earl of *Cumberland* commanded the forces in *Yorkshire* for the King; he being of a peaceable nature, and affable disposition, had but few enemies; or rather, because he was an enemy to few, he did not suit their present condition. Their apprehensions and fears caused them to send to the Earl of *Newcastle*, who had an army of six thousand men, to desire his assistance, whereof he assured them by a speedy march to *York*.

Being now encouraged by this increase of force, they resolved to fall upon *Tadcaster*. My father drew all his men thither; but, in a council of war, the town was judged untenable, and that we should draw out on some advantageous piece of ground by the town; but before we could all march out, the enemy advanced so fast, that we were necessitated to leave some foot in a slight work above the bridge, to secure our retreat, but the enemy

enemy pressing on us, forced us to draw back, to maintain that ground.

We had about nine hundred men, the enemy above four thousand, who in brigades drew up close to the works and stormed us. Our men reserved their shot till they came near, which they then disposed of to so good purpose, that the enemy was forced to retire, and shelter themselves behind hedges. And here did the first fight continue from eleven o'clock in the forenoon, till five in the afternoon, with cannon and musquet, without intermission.

They had once possessed a house by the bridge, which would have cut us from our reserves that were in the town, but Major-General *Gifford*, with a commanded party, beat them out again, where many of the enemy were slain and taken prisoners. They attempted at another place, but were repulsed by Captain *Lister*, who was there slain; a great loss, being a discreet gentleman. By this time it grew dark, and the enemy drew off into the fields hard by, with an intention to assault us again the next day. They left that night above two hundred dead and wounded upon the place. But our ammunition being all spent in the day's fight, we drew off that night and marched to *Selby*, and the enemy entered the next morning into the town. Thus by the mercy of God were a few delivered from an army, who in their thoughts had swallowed us up.

The Earl of *Newcastle* now lay betwixt us and our friends in the West-Riding; but to assist and encourage them I was sent with about three hundred foot, three troop of horse, and some arms to *Bradford*: I was to go by *Ferry-bridge*, our intel-

ligence

ligence being that the enemy was advanced no further than *Sherburne*; but when I was within a mile of the town, we took some prisoners who told us, my Lord of *Newcastle* lay at *Pontefract*, eight hundred men at *Ferry-bridge*, and the rest of the army in all the towns thereabout; So that our advance or retreat seemed alike difficult. Little time being allowed us to consider, we resolved to retreat to *Selby*: Three or four hundred horse of the enemy shewed themselves in the rear, without making any attempt upon us, so that, by the goodness of God, we got safe to *Selby*.

Three days after this, upon better intelligence how the enemy lay, with the same number as before, I marched in the night by several towns where they lay, and came the next day to *Bradford*, a town very untenable, but for their good affection to us, deserving all we could hazard for them.

Our first work then was to fortify ourselves, for we could not but expect an assault. There lay at *Leeds* fifteen hundred of the enemy, and twelve hundred at *Wakefield*, neither place above six or seven miles distant from us. They visited us every day with their horse, ours not going far from the town, being very unequal in number; yet the enemy seldom returned without loss, till at last our few men grew so bold and theirs so disheartned, that they durst not stir a mile from their garrisons.

Whilst these daily skirmishes were among the horse, I thought it necessary to strengthen ourselves with more foot; I summoned the country, who had by this time more liberty to come to us. I presently armed them with those arms we brought along with us; so that in all we were about eight

hundred foot. Being too many to lie idle, and too few to be upon constant duty, we resolved, through the assistance of God, to attempt them in their garrisons.

On Monday, being the 23d of January, 1643, I marched from *Bradford* with six troops of horse and three companies of dragoons, under the command of Sir *Henry Fowles*, my Commissary, or Lieutenant-General of horse; and almost 1000 musketeers and 2000 club-men, under the command of Sir *William Fairfax*, Colonel, and Lieutenant-General of the foot, one company of these also being dragoons under Capt. *Mildmay*, about 30 musketeers and 1000 club-men marched on the south side toward *Wakefield*, the rest on the north side toward *Woodhouse-moor*. On the west side we commended the cause to God by prayer: I dispatched a trumpeter to Sir *William Saville*, commander in chief, at *Leeds*, under the Earl of *Newcastle*, requiring, in writing, the town to be delivered to me for the King and Parliament, to which Sir *William* disdainfully answered immediately, and said he used not to give answer to such frivolous demands, and that he wondered Sir *Thomas* would be so uncivil as to come so near the town before he had acquainted him with it; and that there might be more virtue in his actions than in that paper sent him: So confident he seemed to be with the strength he had in the town, he could well enough keep it, where-in were about 2000 men, namely, 1500 foot and 500 troops of horse and dragoons, and two pieces of cannon: This summons being thus refused, we approached nearer the south west side of the town with our forces, and being within view thereof
with

with our banners displayed, (being about thirty-six colours) I sent another trumpeter to Sir *William Saville*, who shortly after, by a trumpeter, assured us that we should get nothing but by fight, whereupon we prepared for an assault, and instantly drew out of our companies five colours of our most expert soldiers, and appointed them to march down with Capt. *Forbes*, Capt. *Briggs*, *Lee*, *Frank*, and *Palmer*, with his dragoons on foot, towards the water along the trenches, near to and above which, about 100 musketeers were drawn out of the town on a hill and about one o'clock in the afternoon, they gave fire from the inside of their works upon our musketeers, who approaching nearer, shrouded themselves under a hill and let fly at the said sentry, with no loss at all on either side, they within the trenches shooting too high, and the other at the trenches, and thus the fight began between them most fiercely: Now we having the word, which was *Emanuel*, and every commander in their several stations gave charges and commands, and riding from place to place encouraged their men to fall on resolutely, who being mightily emboldened by their valiant leaders, performed the same with admirable courage; and although most of them were but unexperienced fresh-water men, taken up about *Bradford* and *Halifax* but upon the Saturday before, yet they came on most resolutely and valiantly, especially the musketeers under Sir *William Fairfax* commander of the foot, who most courageously, at the head of his regiment and in the face of the enemy, stormed the town most furiously, whereupon began very hot service; Capt. *Forbes* also behaved himself most valiantly about the enemy's trenches and on

works, from whence they played very sharply against our men, but were as hotly answered by us with admirable courage and fearless resolution, under the conduct of this noble Captain; inso-much that notwithstanding the enemy's utmost endeavours to oppose us, together with the assistance of their cannon which were often discharged upon our men, yet they soon killed their cannoniers, and after a furious fight of two hours, our men most bravely beat them quite from their works; when bullets flew about our men's ears as thick as hail, yet myself, Sir *William Fairfax*, and Sir *Henry Fowles* on one side, and the resolute Capt. *Forbes* with his brave company on the other side, made way into the town most furiously sword in hand, and violent force of arms, being closely followed by the dauntless club-men, and so with much difficulty got possession thereof within the space of two hours, wherein were found two brass cannon and good store of arms and amunition, which we presently seized; we took also four colours, and 500 prisoners, among whom were six commanders, most of the rest were common soldiers, who upon taking an oath never to fight in this cause against the King and Parliament, were set at liberty and suffered to depart, but unarmed. There were not above forty slain, whereof ten or twelve at the most on our side, the rest on theirs: Serjeant-Major *Beaumont*, in his flight endeavouring to cross the river to save his life, lost it by being drowned therein; and Sir *William Saville* their General, in his flight also crossing the same river hardly escaped the same fate. Thus, by the Lord's mighty and most merciful assistance, we obtained a great and glorious victory, which may

so

so appear considering the town was so strongly fortified with out-works, and so well manned within, as was before mentioned; which also did strike such terror into the Earl of *Newcastle's* army, that the several garrisons of *Wakefield*, *Sherburne*, and *Pontefract*, fled all away presently before any assaulted them, some few only excepted that stayed at *Pontefract* castle to keep it.

The consequence of this action was yet of more importance; for those who fled from *Leeds* to *Wakefield*, and quitting that garrison also, gave my Lord of *Newcastle* such an alarm at *Pontefract*, that he drew all his army again to *York*, leaving once more a free intercourse, which he had so long time cut off, betwixt my father and us.

After a short time the Earl of *Newcastle* returned again to the same quarters, and we to our stricter duties. But we quickly found our men must have more room or more action.

Capt. *Hotham* and I took a resolution early one morning (from *Selby*) to beat up a quarter of the enemy's that lay at *Fenton*; they being gone, we marched to *Sherburne*, intending there only to give them an alarm; but they might see us a mile or more over a plain common, which lay by the town, and they sent twenty or thirty horse, to guard a pass near the town; I had the van, for at this time we commanded our troops distinct one from another, both making five troops of horse and two of dragoons. I told Capt. *Hotham* if he would second me I would charge those horse, and if they fled I would pursue them so close as to get into the town with them: He promised to second me; I went to the head of my troops and presently charged them, they fled, and we pursued close

close to the barricado, but they got in and shut it upon us; here my horse was shot in at the breast; we so filled the lane, being strait, that we could not retreat without confusion, and danger of their falling in our rear, so we stood to it, and stormed the works with pistol and sword: At the end of the barricado, there was a narrow passage for a single horse to go in; I entered there, others following me one by one; and close at one side of the entrance stood a troop of horse of the enemy: So soon as eight or ten of us were got in we charged them and they fled. By this time the rest of our men had beat them from their barricado, and entered the town: We soon cleared the streets, and pursued those that fled: And now my horse which was shot in the lane fell down dead under me, but I was presently mounted again.

The enemy in the town's about having taken the alarm, it made us think of securing our retreat with the prisoners we had got, some of them being considerable, among whom was Major-General *Windham*; we scarce got into order before General *Goring* came with a good body of horse up to us, and as we marched off, he followed us close in the rear, without doing us any hurt, only my trumpet had his horse shot close by me, and thus we returned to *Selby*.

Though this did not free us wholly from a potent enemy, yet we lay more quietly by them a good while after.

In this recess of action, we had several treaties about prisoners; and this I mention the rather, for that Capt. *Hotham* here first began to discover his intentions of leaving the Parliament's service, in making conditions for himself with the Earl of

Newcastle,

Newcastle, though it was not discovered till a good while after, which had almost ruined my father, and the forces with him; for being now denied help and succour from *Hull* and the East-Riding, he was forced to forsake *Selby*, and retire to *Leeds* and those western parts where I then lay.

To make good this retreat, I was sent to bring what men I could to join with him at *Sherburne*, for my Lord of *Newcastle's* army lay so as he might easily intercept us in our way to *Leeds*, which he had determined to do, and to that end lay with his army on *Clifford-Moor*, having present intelligence of our march.

Whilst my father with fifteen hundred men, ordnance, and ammunition, continued his way from *Selby* to *Leeds*, I with those I brought to *Sherburne*, marched a little aside, betwixt my Lord of *Newcastle's* army and ours. And to amuse them the more, made an attempt upon *Tadcaster*, where they had three or four hundred men, who presently quitted the town and fled to *Tork*.

Here we stayed three or four hours sighting the works, which put my Lord of *Newcastle's* army to a stand, being on their march to meet us, thinking he was deceived in his intelligence, and that we had some other design upon *Tork*; he presently sends back the Lord *Goring* with twenty troops of horse and dragoons to relieve *Tadcaster*.

We were newly drawn off when he came; my Lord *Goring* past over the river to follow us, but seeing we were far unequal in horse to him, (for I had not above three troops, and were to go over *Bramham-Moor* plain) I gave direction to the foot to march away, whilst I stayed with the horse to interrupt the enemy's passage in those narrow lanes

that lead up to the moor. Here was much firing at one another, but in regard of their great numbers, as they advanced, we were forced to give way; yet had gained by it sufficient time for the foot to have been out of danger.

When we came up to the moor again, I found them where I left them, which troubled me much, the enemy being close upon us, and a great plain yet to go over. So we marching the foot in two divisions and the horse in the rear, the enemy followed about two musket shot from us, in three good bodies, but made no attempt upon us: And thus we got well over this open campaign, to some inclosures, beyond which was another moor less than the other. Here our men thinking themselves secure, were more careless in keeping order, and whilst their officers were getting them out of houses where they sought for drink, (it being an extreme hot day) the enemy got another way as soon as we into the moor; and when we had almost passed this plain also, they seeing us in some disorder, charged us both in flank and rear. The country-men presently cast down their arms and fled; the foot soon after, which for want of pikes were not able to withstand their horse. Some officers with me made our retreat with much difficulty, in which Sir *Henry Fowles* received a slight hurt; my Cornet was taken prisoner. We got well to *Leeds* about an hour after my father, and the men with him got safe thither.

This was one of the greatest losses we ever received; yet was it a providence it was a part, and not the whole forces which received this loss; it being the enemy's intention to have fought us that day with their whole army, which was at
least

least ten thousand men, had not our attempt upon *Tadcaster* put a stand to them; and so concluded that day with this storm which fell on me only.

We being at *Leeds*, it was thought fit to possess some other place; wherefore I was sent to *Bradford* with seven or eight hundred foot, and three troops of horse. These two towns were all the garrisons we had; and at *Wakefield*, six miles off, lay three thousand of the enemy, but they did not much disturb us; and we were busied about releasing prisoners that were taken at *Seacroft*, most of them being countrymen, whose wives and children were still importunate for their release, which was as earnestly endeavoured by us, but no conditions would be accepted; so as their continual cries, tears, and importunities, compelled us to think of some way to redeem these men; and we thought of attempting *Wakefield*. Our intelligence was that the enemy had not above eight or nine hundred men in the town; I acquainted my father with our design, who approved of it, and sent some men from *Leeds*, so that we were able to draw out eleven hundred horse and foot.

Upon Whitsunday, early in the morning, we came before the town, but they had notice of our coming, and had manned all their works, and set about five hundred musketeers to line the hedges without the town, which made us now doubt our intelligence, but it was too late.

After a little consultation we advanced and soon beat them back into the town, which we stormed at three places; and after an hour's dispute, the foot forced open a barricado, where I entered with my own troop, Colonel *Alured* and Captain *Bright* followed with theirs: The street we entered was
ful

full of their foot, we charged them through and routed them, leaving them to the foot that followed close behind us: And presently we were charged again with horse led on by General *Goring*, where, after a hot encounter, some were slain, and himself taken prisoner by Colonel *Alured*.

I cannot but here acknowledge God's goodness to me this day, for being advanced a good way single before my men, having a colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel who had engaged themselves to be my prisoners, only with me, and many of the enemy now betwixt me and my men, I lighted upon a regiment of foot standing in the market-place; being thus encompassed, and thinking what to do, I espied a lane which I thought would lead me back to my men again: At the end of this lane there was a corps-de-guard of the enemy's with fifteen or sixteen soldiers, who were just then quitting it with a serjeant leading them off, whom we met, and seeing their officers they came up to us, taking no notice of me, and asked them what they would have them to do, for they could keep the work no longer, the *Roundheads* (as they called them) came so fast upon them. The gentlemen who had passed their words to me to be my true prisoners, said nothing, and looking one upon another, I thought it not fit now to own them as prisoners, much less to bid the rest to render themselves to me; but being well mounted, and seeing a place in the works where men used to go over, I rushed from them and made my horse leap over the work, and by a good providence got to my men again, who before I came, had, by the direction of Major-General *Gifford*, brought up a piece of ordnance, and placed it in the church-yard
against

against that body that stood in the market-place, which presently surrendered themselves.

All our men being got into the town, the streets were cleared, and many prisoners taken; but the horse got off almost entire.

This appeared the greater mercy, when we saw our mistake, for we found three thousand men in the town, and expected but half the number. We brought away fourteen hundred prisoners, eighty officers, twenty-eight colours, and great store of ammunition. But seeing this was more a miracle than a victory; more the effect of God's providence than human force, or prudence, let the honour and praise of all be his only.

After this we exchanged our men that were prisoners, and we were freed a good while from any trouble or attempt of the enemy.

Hitherto, through God's mercy, we had held up near two years against a potent army, but they finding us now almost tired with continual service, treacherously used by friends, and wanting many things necessary for support and defence, the Earl of *Newcastle* marched with an army of ten or twelve thousand men to besiege us, and resolved to sit down before *Bradford*, which was a very untenable place.

Hither my father drew all the forces he could spare out of the garrisons; but seeing it impossible to defend the town otherwise than by strength of men, and that we had not above ten or twelve days provision for so many as were necessary to keep it; we resolved the next morning very early, with three thousand men, to attempt his whole army, as they lay in their quarters three miles off. Hoping by it to put him to some distraction, which

which could not be done any other way by reason of the unequal numbers. To this end my father appointed four of the clock next morning to begin our march; but Major-General *Gifford*, who had the ordering of the business, so delayed the execution of it, that it was seven or eight before we began to move, and not without suspicion of treachery; for when we came near the place we intended, the enemy's whole army was drawn up in battalia.

We were to go up a hill to them, that our *Forlorn-hope* had gained by beating theirs into their main body, which was drawn up half a mile further upon a plain called *Adderson-moor*. We being all got up the hill, drew into battalia also. I commanded the right wing, which was about one thousand foot, and five troops of horse. Major-General *Gifford* commanded the left wing, which was about the same number. My father commanded in chief. We advanced through the inclosed grounds till we came to the moor, beating the foot that lay in them to their main body. Ten or twelve troops of horse charged us in the right wing; we kept the inclosures, placing our musketeers in the hedges next the moor; which was a good advantage to us who had so few horse.

There was a gate or open place to the moor, where five or six might enter a-breast. Here they strove to enter, we to defend it; but after some dispute, those that entered the pass found smart entertainment, and those who were not yet entered, as hot welcome from the musketeers that flanked them in the hedges. They were all in the end forced to retreat, with the loss of Colonel *Howard* who commanded them.

Our

Our left wing at the same time was engaged with the enemy's foot, and had gained ground of them. The horse came down again and charged us, they being about thirteen or fourteen troops. We defended ourselves as before, but with more difficulty; many having got in among us, but were beaten off again with some loss. Colonel *Herne* who commanded that party, was slain. We pursued them to their cannon. Here I cannot omit a remarkable instance of Divine justice: Whilst we were engaged in the fight with those horse that entered the gate, four soldiers had stript Colonel *Herne* naked as he lay on the ground, men still fighting round about him; and so dexterous were these villains, that they had done it and mounted themselves again before we had beaten the enemy off: But after we had beaten them to their ordnance, as I said, and now returning to our ground again, the enemy discharged a piece of cannon in our rear, the bullet fell into Capt. *Copley*'s troop in which were these four men, two of them were killed, and some hurt or mark remained on the other, though dispersed into several ranks of the troop, which made it more remarkable. We had not yet martial law amongst us, this gave me a good occasion to declare to the soldiers how God would punish when men wanted power to do it. This charge, and the resolution our men shewed in the left wing, made the enemy think of retreating. Orders were given for it, and some marched off the field.

Whilst they were in this wavering condition, one Colonel *Skirton* desired his General to let him charge once with a stand of pikes, with which he broke in upon our men, and not being relieved by

by our reserves, which were commanded by some ill-affected officers, chiefly Major-General *Gifford* who did not his part as he ought to have done, our men lost ground, which the enemy seeing, pursued this advantage, by bringing on fresh troops; ours being herewith discouraged began to fly, and were soon routed. The horse also charged us again: We not knowing what was done in the left wing, our men maintained their ground, till a command came for us to retreat, having scarce any way now to do it, the enemy being almost round about us, and our way to *Bradford* cut off. But there was a lane in the field we were in, which led to *Halifax*, which as a happy providence, brought us off without any great loss, save of Capt. *Talbot* and twelve more that were slain in this last encounter. Of those who fled there were about sixty killed, and three hundred taken prisoners.

After this ill success we had small hopes of better, wanting all things necessary in *Bradford* for defence of the town, and no expectation of help from any place. The Earl of *Newcastle* presently besieged the town; but before he had surrounded it I got in with those men I brought from *Halifax*. I found my father much troubled, having neither a place of strength to defend ourselves in, nor a garrison in *Yorkshire* to retreat to; for the Governor of *Hull* had declared if we were forced to retreat thither he would shut the gates on us.

Whilst he was musing on these sad thoughts, a messenger was sent unto him from *Hull*, to let him know the townsmen had secured the Governor; that they were sensible of the danger he was in, and if he had any occasion to make use of that place,

place, he should be very readily and gladly received. This news was joyfully received and acknowledged as a great mercy of God, yet it was not made use of till a further necessity compelled.

My father having ordered me to stay here with eight hundred foot and sixty horse, retired that night to *Leeds* to secure it. The Earl of *Newcastle* spent three or four days in laying his quarters about the town of *Bradford*, and brought down his cannon, but needed not to raise batteries, for the hills within half musket-shot commanded all the town. Being planted in two places, they shot furiously upon us, and made their approaches, which occasioned us to spend very much of our little store, being not above twenty-five or twenty-six barrels of powder, at the beginning of the siege. Yet the Earl of *Newcastle* sent a trumpet to offer us conditions, which I accepted, so they were honourable for us to take, and safe for the inhabitants. We sent two Captains to treat with him, and agreed to a cessation during that time; but he continued working still: whereupon I sent forth the commissioners again, suspecting a design of attempting something upon us. They returned not till eleven at night, and then with a slight answer. Whilst they were delivering it to us; we heard great shooting of cannon and muskets; all ran presently to the works which the enemy were storming. Here for three-quarters of an hour was very hot service, but at length they retreated. They made a second attempt, but were also beaten off; after this we had not above one barrel of powder left; and no match. I called the officers together; when it was advised and resolved to draw off before it was

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day and retreat to *Leeds*, by forcing a way, which we must do, for they had surrounded the town. Orders were dispatched, and speedily put in execution. The foot commanded by Colonel *Rogers* was sent out through some narrow lanes, and they were to beat up the dragoons quarters, and so go on to *Leeds*. I with some other officers went with the horse, which were not above fifty, in a more open way.

I must not here forget my wife, who ran the same hazard with us in this retreat, and with as little expression of fear; not from any zeal or delight in the war, but through a willing and patient suffering of this undesirable condition.

I sent two or three horsemen before to discover what they could of the enemy; who presently returned and told us there was a guard of horse close by us. Before I had gone forty paces, the day beginning to break, I saw them upon the hill above us, being about three hundred horse. I, with some twelve more, charged them, Sir *Henry Fowles*, Major-General *Gifford*, myself, and three more brake through; Captain *Mudd* was slain, and the rest of our horse being close by, the enemy fell upon them and soon routed them, taking most of them prisoners, among whom was my wife, the officer *William Hill*, behind whom she rid, being taken. I saw this disaster but could give no relief; for after I was got through, I was in the enemy's rear alone; those who had charged through with me went on to *Leeds*, thinking I had done so too. But I was unwilling to leave my company, and stay'd till I saw there was no more in my power to do, but to be taken prisoner with them. I then retired to *Leeds*.

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The like disaster fell among the foot that went the other way, by a mistake, for after they had marched a little way, the van fell into the dragoons quarters, clearing their way; but through a cowardly fear, he that commanded these men being in the rear, made them face about and march again into the town, where the next day they were all taken prisoners, only eighty or thereabout of the front that got through, came all to *Leeds*, mounted on horses which they had taken from the enemy, where I found them when I came thither, which was some joy to them all, concluding I was either slain or taken prisoner.

At *Leeds* I found all in great distraction, the council of war newly risen, where it was resolved to quit the town and retreat to *Hull*, which was sixty miles off, and many of the enemy's garrisons being in the way. This, in two hours after, was accordingly done, lest the enemy should send horse to prevent us; for they had fifty or sixty troops within three miles: But we got well to *Selby*, where there was a ferry, and hard by a garrison at *Carwood*.

My father being a mile before with a few men, getting over the ferry, word came to us that he was in danger to be taken. I hastened to him with about forty horse, the rest following in some disorder. He was newly got into the boat, when the enemy with three Cornets of horse entered the town.

I was drawn up in the market-place, directly before the street they came down; when they were half come into the market-place, they turned on the right hand; with part of my troop I charged them in the flank, and divided them

we had the chase of them down the long street that goes to *Brayton*. It happened at the same time that those men I left behind were coming up that street, but being in disorder, and discouraged with the misfortunes of so many days before, they turned about and gave way, not knowing we were pursuing the enemy in their rear. At the end of this street was a narrow lane, which led to *Carwood*. The enemy strove to pass that way, but it being narrow, there was a sudden stop, where we were mingled one among another. Here I received a shot in the wrist of my arm, which made the bridle fall out of my hand, and being among the nerves and veins, suddenly let out such a quantity of blood that I was ready to fall from my horse; but taking the reins in the other hand in which I had my sword, the enemy minding nothing so much as how to get away, I drew myself out of the crowd, and came to our men, who turned about, and seeing me ready to fall, they laid me on the ground; now when I was almost senseless, my surgeon came seasonably, and bound up the wound, and stopt the bleeding. After a quarter of an hour's rest I got upon horse-back again; the other part of our horse had beaten the enemy back to *Carwood* the same way they came first to us. Thus by the goodness of God our passage was made clear: some went over the ferry after my father, I myself with others went through the levels to *Hull*, but it proved a very troublesome and dangerous passage, being often interrupted by the enemy, sometimes in our front, sometimes in our rear.

I had been twenty hours on horse-back after I was shot, without any rest or refreshment, and as many

many hours before : And as a further affliction, my daughter, not above five years old, being carried before her maid, endured all this retreat on horse-back; but nature not being able to hold out any longer, she fell into frequent swoonings, and in appearance was ready to expire her last. Having now past the *Trent*, and seeing a house not far distant, I sent her with her maid only thither, with little hopes of seeing her any more alive, though I intended the next day to send a ship from *Hull* for her.

I went on to *Barton*, having sent before to have a ship ready against my coming thither. Here I lay down to take a little rest, if it were possible to find any in a body so full of pain, and a mind yet fuller of anxiety and trouble. Though I must acknowledge it as the infinite goodness of God, that my spirit was nothing at all discouraged from doing still that which I thought to be my duty.

I had not rested a quarter of an hour, before the enemy came close to the town. I had now not above a hundred horse with me, we went to the ship, where under the security of her ordnance we got all our men and horse on board; and crossing *Humber*, we arrived at *Hull*, our men faint and tired. I myself had lost all, even to my shirt, for my cloaths were made unfit to wear with rents and blood. Presently after my coming to *Hull*, I sent a ship for my daughter, who was brought the next day to the town, pretty well recovered of her long and tedious journey.

Not many days after the Earl of *Newcastle* sent my wife back again in his coach, with some horse to guard her; which generous act of his gain'd him more reputation than he could have got

got by detaining a lady prisoner, upon such terms.

Many of our men who were dispersed in this long retreat, came hither again to us. Our first business was to raise new forces, and in a short time we had about fifteen hundred foot, and seven hundred horse.

The town being little, I was sent to *Beverly* with the horse and 600 foot, but my Lord of *Newcastle* now looking upon us as inconsiderable, was marched into *Lincolnshire*, with his whole army, leaving some few garrisons. He took in *Gainsbrough* and *Lincoln*, and intended *Boston*, which was the key of the associated counties; for his orders, which I have seen, were to go into *Essex*, and block up *London* on that side.

Having laid a great while still, and being now strong enough for those forces which remained in the country, we sent out a good party to make an attempt upon *Stanford-Bridge*, near *Tork*, but the enemy upon the alarm fled thither, which put them also in such a fear, that they sent earnestly to my Lord of *Newcastle* to desire him to return, or the country would again be lost. Upon this he returned again into *Torkshire*, and not long after came to besiege *Hull*. I lay at *Beverly* in the way of his march, and finding we were not able to defend such an open place against an army, I desired orders from my father to retire back to *Hull*; but the committee there had more mind of raising money, than to take care of the soldiers; and yet these men had the greatest share in command at this time, and would not let any orders be given for our retreat; nor was it fit for us to return without order. The enemy marched with his whole army towards us; retreat we must

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not, keep the town we could not. So, to make our retreat more honourable and useful, I drew out all the horse and dragoons towards the enemy, and stood drawn up by a wood side all that night. Next morning by day our scouts and theirs bred at one another. They marched on with their whole body, which was about 4000 horse, and 12000 foot. We stood till they were come very near to us: I then drew off, having given direction before for the foot to march away towards *Hull*, and thinking to make good the retreat with the horse. The enemy with a good party came up in our rear; the lanes being narrow we made good shift with them, till we got into *Beverly* and shut the gate, which we had scarce time to do, they being so close to us. In this business we lost Major *Layton*, and not above two more. The enemy not knowing what forces we had in the town, stayed till the rest of the army came up, which was about a mile behind. This gave our foot some advantage in their retreat, it being five miles to *Hull*, and the way on narrow banks. I sent the horse by *Cottingham*, a more open road, who got well thither; they overtook the foot and made good their retreat, till we got to a little bridge two miles from *Hull*, where we made a stand: The enemy followed close: our men gave them a good volley of shot, which made them draw back, and they advanced no further. So leaving a small guard at the bridge, we got safe to *Hull*. Thus not only for want of military skill in the gentlemen of the committee, but to say no more, for want of good nature, we were exposed to this trouble and danger.

My Lord of *Newcastle* now laid siege to *Hull*,
but

but at a great distance, for the sluices were let open and drowned the land for two miles about the town. Yet upon a bank, which was the highway, he approached so near as to shoot cannon shot at random into the town, and for the most part hot bullets, but by the care and diligence of the Governor, who caused every inhabitant to watch his own house, the danger was prevented.

Our horse was now useless, and many died every day, having nothing but salt-water about the town. I was therefore sent over with the horse into *Lincolnshire* to join with the Earl of *Manchester's* forces, which were then commanded by Major-General Cromwell, who received us at our landing with his troops.

Sir *John Henderson* lay within three or four miles of this place, with 3000 men, to prevent our conjunction, but durst not attempt it. He marched three or four days near unto us, but for want of good intelligence, we did not know so much. For I altogether trusted to the care of our new friends, being a stranger in those parts.

At *Horncastle* one morning he fell upon our out-guards, who being but newly raised in that county, fled towards *Lincoln*, without giving any alarm to our quarters, that lay dispersed and secure. Sir *John Henderson* marching slowly with his army, gave the alarm to some of our out-quarters, which was soon taken in all the rest. Yet we were in some disorder before we could get into any considerable body. My Lord *Willoughby* with his horse and my dragoons, commanded by Colonel *Morgan*, brought up the rear, and after some skirmishes, we lodged that night in the field.

The next day the Earl of *Manchester* came to

us with his foot, the day following we advanced towards the enemy; and chusing a convenient ground to fight on, we drew up the army there. The enemy did the same on the side of another hill close by, having a little plain betwixt us. Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* had the van, I the reserve of horse, my Lord *Manchester* all the foot.

After we had faced one another a good while, the *Forlorn Hopes* began the fight, presently the bodies met on the plain, where the fight was hot for half an hour, but then they were forced to a rout, 400 kill'd and many taken prisoners. This was the issue of *Horneastle* fight, or, as some call it, *Winsby* fight. *

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* As this battle is more particularized in *Rushworth's Historical Collections*, the following quotation from that work is here inserted.

" On Wednesday morning, Oct. 11, 1643, the Earl of *Manchester* gave order for his whole force of horse and foot to be drawn up to *Bullenbrook-hill*, as the only convenient ground to fight on. The King's forces also that morning drew their whole body of horse and dragoons into the field, being 74 colours of horse, and 21 colours of dragoons. *Manchester* had not half so many colours of horse and dragoons, but as many men, for his troops were fuller. It was late before the foot could be drawn up. *Manchester's* horse and dragoons went on in several bodies, singing of psalms; Quartermaster-General *Vermuden*, with five troops, had the *Forlorn Hopes*, and Colonel *Cromwell* the van, seconded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. The Royalist's word was *Newcastle*; that of the Parliament's party *Truth and Peace*. The dragoons gave the first charge, and then the horse fell in: Colonel *Cromwell* charg'd with great resolution immediately after the dragoons of the other side had given him their first volley: yet within half pistol-shot they saluted him with a second charge. His horse was killed and fell down upon him; and as he rose, he was knockt down again by the gentleman that charg'd him, which was supposed

At the same instant we heard great shooting of ordnance towards *Hull*, which was a folly my father made out of the town upon my Lord of *Newcastle's* trenches, who drew out most part of his army to relieve them; but our men charged them so resolutely, that they possessed themselves of the cannon, and pursuing their advantage, put the enemy to a total rout, upon which he raised the siege and returned again to *York*.

These two defeats together, the one falling upon the horse, the other upon the foot, kept the enemy all that winter from attempting any thing; and we, after the taking of *Lincoln*, settled ourselves in winter quarters.

Permit us now to make a small digression, in describing the wonderful display of Providence about this time, in the taking of *Crowland* by the men of *Spalding*, which take as follows: One Captain *Welbie*, with his adherents and some commanders, in open hostility against the Parliament, fortified the said town of *Crowland* with breastworks and trenches very strongly; which being effected, *Welbie* and his company came in the night

supposed to be Sir *Ingram Hopton*: But he got up and recovered a poor horse in a soldier's hand, and so mounted again. The van of the Royalists horse, being driven back upon their own body that was to second them, put them into disorder; and *Manchester's* troops taking that advantage, charged all in with them and put them to the run, leaving their dragoons (which were now on foot) behind them. And so being totally routed, they had the pursuit, and did execution upon them for five miles together. The Earl of *Manchester's* foot hastened their march to come up to the engagement; but the horse had done the work before they came; the number killed being computed to be about 500 of the Royal party; and on the other side there were very few slain, and none of note."

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to *Spalding*, (which at that time was utterly unfurnished with men and arms) and about break of day beset the house of one Mr. *Ram*, minister of that town, where they also took Mr. *John Harrington*, Mr. *Horn*, and Mr. *Slater*, a gentleman of above sixty years of age, carried them to *Crowland* and imprisoned them there. After they had continued three weeks in close confinement, the inhabitants of *Spalding* assembled themselves into a pretty competent strength, and so advanced to *Crowland* to relieve and redeem the said gentlemen out of their harsh confinement; whereupon about eight o'clock the first night, all these prisoners were carried down to the bulwark upon the north side of the town, but their friends' forces not falling on, they were carried to prison again. But as soon as the *Spalding* forces approached near the town, they were all brought forth again and carried to that part of the town where the first onset was given, being all of them fast pinioned, and forced to stand in an open place where the cannon might and did play most furiously upon them.

Shortly after this all these gentlemen were set upon the top of the breast-works, where they stood at least three hours, their dear and faithful friends that came to relieve them, shooting fiercely at them a great part of all that day before they knew who they were; yea, Captain *Harrington* took one of his soldiers muskets, charging it with pistol-shot, and himself made three shots at his own father, not knowing who he was, all the rest of the *Spalding* forces on that side (supposing they had been *Crowlanders*, and that they stood there to out-brave them) shot at them very angrily, 'till at last

perceiving who they were, quickly left firing on them, and began to play more to the right hand, whither presently Mr. *Ram* and Mr. *Horn* were by the *Crowlanders* removed; which also their friends again discerning, they held their hands and forbore to shoot, so that little was done on that side of the town that day; but as the fury of the fight abated in those parts, so it increased on the north side, whither presently Mr. *Ram* and Mr. *Horn* were posted, and there also set upon the bulwarks for the *Spalding* forces to play upon them with their shot, who indeed plied very fiercely with cannon and musket for a great while together, supposing that Mr. *Ram* had been the priest of the town (one Mr. *Styles* a special personal actor in these matters) to their great grief and many of their dear friends (as they acknowledged afterwards when the town was taken) shot many times and very vehemently against their beloved friends, and pious minister, and Mr. *Horn* who stood by him; But, wonderful to think! providential mercy was so apparent in the preservation of these men's lives, and guided all the bullets still, that all the multitude of shot which continually flew about their ears, and many within half musket-shot of them, yet not one bullet, small or great, had power to hurt any of them.

But to go on, when these gentlemen had continued three hours or more on the north side of the works, *Spalding* forces began to retreat there also, and then the gentlemen were taken down and guarded to their prison, together with Mr. *Harrington* and the other two prisoners, who had also been on the west works. But the forces on the north side beginning again to fire on the *Crowlanders*

landers, they were carried back again and set on the works as aforesaid, whereupon *Spalding* forces honestly retreated on both sides.

Not long after *Spalding* forces assaulted the town again in three different places at once, who all being come near the town, the Rev. Mr. *Ram* was again called for and brought out of his lodging, and carried with all speed to the north bulwark, and there, being straitly pinioned, was most inhumanly laid within the works on the wet ground, where he laid five hours, often intreating to be set upon the bulwark, by reason of the extreme numbness of his limbs, and extraordinary weariness, with lying in that posture and condition, but they would not suffer it.

In brief, within two or three days the town was taken, but some of the chief actors of the fore-mentioned villanies got away, divers were taken in the town and put into prison at *Colchester*, *Ipswich*, and other places. Thus much have I particularly related of the taking of this town, and the wonderful preservation of these gentlemen's lives.

In the coldest season of the year I was commanded by the Parliament to go and raise the siege at *Namptwich*, which the Lord *Byron* with the *Irish* army, had reduced to great extremity. I was the most unfit of all their forces, being ever the worst paid, my men sickly and almost naked; I desired the Parliament that they would be pleased to supply these wants, not excusing myself as some did, who had no will to stir, though well enough accommodated. The Parliament's answer was a positive direction to march, for it would admit of no delay. But foreseeing I should have such a return to my desires, and considering the necessity of

of the business, I had upon my own credit got so much cloth as cloathed 1500 men, and all were ready to march when these orders came to me.

The twenty-ninth of December we set forward from *Falkingham* in *Lincolnshire* with 1800 horse, and 500 dragoons, and power to call the regiments of foot in *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*, to make up the body of the army, which I found was not a little trouble when I came to *Manchester*, for some were thirty, some forty miles distant, besides the dissatisfaction of some of their Colonels went as their particular interest or safety swayed them. But finding more readiness in the inferior officers and common soldiers, I got up in a few days near 3000 foot.

With this army we marched to *Namptwich*, which was at the point of surrendering. When we came within a day's march, I had the intelligence the Lord *Byron* had drawn off his siege, and intended to meet us in the field. I put my men into the order in which I intended to fight, and continued my march till we came within three miles of the town. There was a pass kept with about 250 men; I sent Colonel *Morgan* with his dragoons, who beat them off, in which his brother was slain. The Major who commanded the other party, with some others, was taken prisoner. We marched on till we came within cannon-shot of their works, where half of their army was drawn up. And we were inform'd that the river which runs through the town, being raised with the melting of the snow, hindered those that lay on the other side of the town from joining with them. We call'd a council of war, wherein it was debated, whether we should attempt those in their works,

works, being divided from the rest of the army, or march into the town and relieve them, and by the increase of our force be better able the next day to encounter them.

This last was resolved on, and making way with pioneers through the hedges, we marched to the town; but after we had gone a little way, word came that the enemy was in the rear. We faced about with two regiments and my own regiment of horse, commanded by Major *Rokeby*, and reliev'd those that were engaged, and so the fight began on all sides. These that fell on our rear, were that part of their army that lay on the other side of the town, who had past the river. Those who were drawn up under their works, fell upon our van which was marching to the town. Thus was the battle divided, there being a quarter of a mile betwixt us and the division that first engaged.

Our foot at the beginning gave a little ground, but our horse recovered this, by beating the enemy's horse out of the lanes that flanked our foot, which did so encourage our men that they regain'd their ground on the enemy, and made them retreat from hedge to hedge, till at length they were forced to fly to their works. The horse retreated in better order towards *Chester*, without much loss. Our other wing being assisted from the town, who sally'd out with seven or eight hundred musketeers, beat the enemy back into the same works. We presently surrounded them, and being in great disorder and confusion, they soon yielded themselves prisoners, with all their chief officers, arms, colours and ammunition.

Thus, by the mercy of God, was this victory obtain'd being the more signal, in that we were not

not to deal with young foldiers but men of great experience, and an army which had ever been victorious.

After this we took in several garrisons in *Cheeshire*; *Latham* only in *Lancashire* held out, which was besieged by the forces of that county, but afterwards the siege was raised by Prince *Rupert*.

Having spent three or four months in this expedition, my father commanded me back into *Yorkshire*, that by the conjunction of our forces, he might be abler to take the field. We met about *Ferry-bridge*, he being come out of *Hull* thither with an intent to fall upon the enemy's garrison at *Selby*.

I received at this time another command from the Parliament to march immediately with my horse and dragoons into *Northumberland*, to join with the *Scots* army. The Earl of *Newcastle*, who was then at *Durham*, being much stronger in horse than they, for want of which they could not advance: But it being resolved within a day or two to storm *Selby*, I stayed till that business was over, which proved as effectual for the relief of the *Scots* army. The Governor of *York*, Col. *Bellasis*, lay in *Selby* with 2000 men. We drew our horse and foot close to the town, Sir *John Meldrum* led on the foot, which had their several posts appointed them where they should storm. I with the horse ready to second them. The enemy within defended themselves stoutly a good while; our men at length beat them from the line, but could not advance further because of the horse within. I got a barricado open, which led us in betwixt the houses and the river; here we had an encounter with their horse: After one charge they fled over a bridge

a bridge of boats to *York*; their horse came up and charged us again, where my horse was overthrown; I being single a little before my men, who presently relieved me and forced the enemy back. They retreated also to *York*. In this charge we took Col. *Bellasis* Governor of *York*. By this time the foot had entered the town, and had taken many prisoners. This good success of ours put them into great distraction and fear at *York*; so that they speedily sent to the Earl of *Newcastle* to haste back thither, believing we would presently attempt them. This news suddenly called him back, leaving the *Scots*, who with cold and often alarms, were reduced to great extremity, but now they advanced after him. The Earl of *Newcastle* gets into *York*; the *Scots* join with my father at *Wetherby*, altogether made 16000 foot; and 4000 horse. They march on to *York*.

For the siege of *York* it was thought necessary to have more men, the town being large in compass and strongly manned. The Earls of *Crawford*, *Lindsey*, and myself, were sent to the Earl of *Manchester* to desire him to join with us in the siege, to which he willingly consented, bringing an addition of 6000 foot and 3000 horse.

Now the army had three Generals, *Lestly*, *Manchester*, and *Fairfax*, who lay apart in three several quarters before the town, but the north side still remained open.

Some time was spent here without any considerable action, till in my Lord of *Manchester's* quarters, approaches were made to *St. Mary's* tower, and they soon came to mine it. Colonel *Crawford*, a Scotchman, who commanded that quarter, sprung the mine, being ambitious to have

the honour alone of it, without acquainting the other two Generals for their advice and concurrence, which proved very prejudicial, for having engaged his party against the whole strength of the town, without more forces to second him, he was repulsed with the loss of three hundred men; for which he had surely been called to an account, but escaped the better by reason of this triumviral government.

Soon after Prince *Rupert* came to relieve the town. We raised the siege. *Hessey-moor* was appointed the rendezvous, and the whole army drew thither. About a mile from thence lay the Prince, the river *Ouse* being betwixt us, which he that night past over at *Poppleton*. The next day he drew out his army on the same moor, which being now joined with my Lord of *Newcastle's* army, made about 23 or 24,000 men; our forces amounted to something more.

We were divided in our opinions what to do. The *English* were for fighting; the *Scots* for retreating, to gain (as they alledged) both time and place of more advantage. This being resolved on, we marched away to *Tadcaster*, which made the enemy advance the faster. Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, *Leffly*, and myself, were appointed to bring up the rear. We sent word to the Generals of the necessity of making a stand, or else the enemy having this advantage, might put us in some disorder. But by the very great advantage of the ground we were on, we hoped to make it good till they came back to us, which they did.

The place was *Marston-fields*, which afterwards gave the name to this battle. Here we drew up
our

our army. The enemy was drawn up in battalia on the moor a little below us. The day being most part spent in preparations, we now began to descend towards them. Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* commanded the left wing of the horse, and was seconded by Major-General *Lesly*; I had the right wing, with some *Scots* horse and lances for my reserves. The three generals were with the foot.

Our left wing first charged the enemy's right wing, which was performed for a while with much resolution on both sides, but the enemy at length was put to the worst. Our right wing had not all so good success, by reason of the furzes and ditches we were to pass over before we could get to the enemy, which put us into great disorder. Notwithstanding I drew up a body of 400 horse. But because their intervals of horse in this wing only, were lined with musketeers who did as much hurt with their shot, I was necessitated to charge them. We were a long time engaged one with another; but at last we routed that part of their wing we charged and pursued them a good way towards *Tork*. Myself only returned presently to get to the men I left behind me. But that part of the enemy which stood, perceiving the disorder they were in, had charged and routed them before I could get to them: So that the good success we had at first was eclipsed by this bad conclusion.

Our other wing and most of the foot went on prosperously, till they had cleared the field. I must ever remember with thankfulness the goodness of God to me this day; for having charged through the enemy, and my men going after the pursuit, and returning back to go to my other troops,

troops. I was got in among the enemy, who stood up and down the field in several bodies of horse, so taking the signal out of my hat I past through them for one of their own commanders, and got to my Lord of *Manchester's* horse in the other wing; only with a cut in my cheek, which was given me in the first charge, and a shot which my horse received. In this charge many of my officers and soldiers were hurt and slain: The Captain of my own troop was shot in the arm, my Cornet had both his hands cut, so as to render him ever after unserviceable. Captain *Micklethwaite*, an honest stout gentleman, was slain; and scarce any officer who was in this charge but received a hurt. Colonel *Lambert* who should have seconded me, but could not get up to me, charged in another place. Major *Fairfax*, who was Major to his regiment, had at least thirty wounds, of which he died at *Tork*, after he had been abroad again and in good hopes of recovery. But that which most of all concerned me, was the loss of my brother *Charles Fairfax*, who being deserted of his men was fore wounded, of which in three or four days after he died and was buried at *Marston*, *Ætat.* 23. In this charge as many were hurt and kill'd as in the whole army besides. On the enemy's part there was about 4000 slain, and many taken prisoners. *

Prince

* Probably many readers may imagine *Fairfax's* description of this famous battle too short, and possess a wish to see it delineated more at length. To satisfy such, the following particular account is extracted from *Rushworth's Collections*.

" On Tuesday July 2d, 1644, early in the morning, the foot and artillery of the Parliamentarians were commanded to march

Prince *Rupert* returned into the south, the Earl of *Newcastle* went beyond sea with many of his officers. *York* was presently surrendered, and the North

march towards *Tadcaster*; [they were quartered the night before at *Long-Marston* and the towns adjacent] the *Scots* leading the van; but before they were arrived within a mile of that town, notice was given, that the Prince about nine o'clock with the van of his army, consisting of 5000 horse, was come upon the moor near *Marston*, and prest close upon their rear, and was drawing on the rest of his forces, appearing resolved to fight them. Hereupon their foot and carriages were ordered back with all speed, some of them being advanced four or five miles.

"In the mean time both parties were busy in drawing themselves up into order; the Prince had possessed himself of so much of the moor, and so near them, that they had not liberty enough to draw up upon the moor, but were forced to draw their men into a large field of rye, which being a rising ground, the Prince sent a party to hinder them of that advantage, but they were beat back, and that corn field possessed by the enemy, whose pioneers made way to get ground whereon to extend the wings of their army, placing their right wing just by *Marston*-town-side, the town on their right-hand fronting on the East; and as their foot and horse came up, forming their battalia and left wing, endeavouring to gain as much of the left point as they could; so that at last their army fronted to the moor, from *Marston* to *Topawith*, being a mile and a half in length. The Prince having part of his foot beyond *Osfe*, was as late as they before he had fully drawn up, but between two and three o'clock both armies were pretty well formed.

"The Prince with the forces drawn out of the city, had in the field in all some 14000 foot, and 9000 horse, and about 25 pieces of ordnance: His Highness himself led on the right wing of the horse, which had in it twelve divisions, consisting of 100 troops, and might be 5000 men. Their left wing of horse was commanded by Sir *Charles Lucas* and Colonel *Hurzy*; but who commanded their main body, whether General *Goring*, or Major-General *Potter*, or Major-General *Tyliard*, or all of them, I have not been able to learn: Nor do I find what

North now was wholly reduced by the Parliament's forces except some garrisons.

Soon after this I went to *Helmesley* to take the castle

what particular charge the Marquis of *Newcastle* had this day in the field, though it is certain he was engaged very valiantly in the battle.

"On the other side, the three conjoined armies by reason of the parties they had sent forth, (as into *Lancashire* under Sir *John Meldrum*, &c. which were not yet returned, and the men they had lost in this tedious siege) were so much reduced that they did not exceed the Prince's in number, but in that respect both armies seemed pretty equal. Their right wing of horse was commanded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, consisting of eighty troops, being his own and part of the *Scotch* horse: Next in the main battalia, was the Lord *Fairfax*, commanding the foot towards the right wing, consisting of all his infantry, and two brigades of *Scots* for a reserve: And towards the left, General *Leven* with the rest of the *Scottish* foot, and two brigades of the Earl of *Manchester's*, with six regiments of *Scots*, and one of *Manchester's* brigades for a reserve. The left wing of their horse was commanded by *Manchester*, and his Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, consisting of the Earl's whole cavalry, and three regiments of the *Scottish* horse under Major-General *Leshley*, making in all about seventy troops. The Prince's army extended in front somewhat further than theirs, and therefore on their left hand to secure the flank, were placed the *Scottish* dragoons, under the command of Colonel *Frizel*.

"The field word given by the Prince was *God and the King*; by the other party, *God with us*. The great ordnance on both sides began to play about three of the clock, but without doing any considerable execution on either part. All things being ready about five o'clock, there was a general silence on each side, expecting who should begin the charge; for there was a small ditch and a bank between the two armies (though they had drawn up their wings within musket-shot) which either side must pass if they would charge the other, which would be a disadvantage, and apt to disorder them that should first attempt it. In this posture they continued a considerable time, so that on each side it was believed there would

be

castle there, where I received a dangerous shot in my shoulder, and was brought back to *York*, all being doubtful of my recovery for some time.

At

be no action that night; but about seven o'clock in the evening the Parliament's Generals resolved to fall on, and then the signal being given, the Earl of *Manchester's* foot and the Scots of the main body advanced in a running march, soon made their way over the ditch, and gave a smart charge.

"The front divisions of horse mutually charged, and particularly the respective opposite right and left wings meeting. The first division of Prince *Rupert's* advanced, and with them his Highness in person charged *Cromwell's* division of three hundred horse, in which he was in person and very hard put to it, being charged by Prince *Rupert's* bravest men, both in front and flank, and stood at sword's point a pretty while hacking one another: But at last *Cromwell* broke through, and at the same time the rest of his horse of that wing, and Major-General *Lestley's* regiments (who behaved themselves very well) had wholly broken all that right wing of the Prince's, and were in the chase of them beyond their left wing; And the Earl of *Manchester's* foot on the right hand of them, went on by their side almost as fast as they, dispersing and cutting down his foot. The Marquis of *Newcastle's* regiment of *White Coats* were almost wholly cut off, for they scorned to fly, and were slain in rank and file, and the rest of that part of their army which escaped killing or being taken prisoners, fled in confusion towards *York*.

"But the Prince's left wing led by Colonel *Hurry*, had better success, and did as much as the Parliament's right; for though Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, with Colonel *Lambert*; and five or six troops charged through them, and went to their own left wing, the rest of his troops were defeated: And the Lord *Fairfax's* brigade being furiously assaulted, and at the same time disordered by some of Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* new raised regiments, who wheeled about, and being hotly pursued, flying back upon them, and the reserve of the Scottish foot broke them wholly, and trod many of them under foot; so that their right wing and part of their main body were routed and fled out of the field several miles towards *Tadcaster* and *Cawood*, giving out that all was lost.

"Things

At the same time the Parliament voted me to command the army in the South. But my intentions being only to keep in mind what I had been present

“ Things being in this condition, the Royalists pursuing, and just ready to seize all the carriages, *Cromwell* with his horse, and *Manchester*'s foot came back from the chase of the Prince's right wing, and perceiving their friends in the mean time thus worsted, advanced in good order to a second charge with all the Prince's horse and foot that had thus disordered their right wing and main body, who seeing their approach, gave over the pursuit and prepared to receive them; both sides being not a little surpris'd to see they must fight it over again for that victory which each thought they had already gained. However the Royalists marched with great resolution down the corn fields, the face of the battle being exactly counter-changed; for now the King's forces stood on the same ground, and with the same front that the Parliaments right wing before stood to receive their charge: And the Parliament's forces in the same ground, and with the same front as the King's did when the fight began.

“ The battle thus renewed grew very desperate, but in fine, after the utmost efforts of strength and courage on either side, victory wholly inclined to the Parliament's forces, who before ten o'clock had cleared the field, and not only recovered their own carriages which were in so much danger, but took all the Prince's train of artillery that he brought into the field; and followed the chase with great slaughter within a mile of *York*:

“ There were taken prisoners of note, *Sir Charles Lucas*, Lieutenant-General of the Marquis of *Newcastle*'s horse, Major-General *Potter*, Major-General *Tyliard*, and the Lord *Goring*'s son, and near an hundred other officers, 1500 common soldiers, 25 pieces of ordnance, 130 barrels of Powder; several thousand arms, and, as computed, about an hundred colours; for which though there was proclamation made to bring them in to the Generals, yet the soldiers had already torn to pieces most of them, delighting to wear the shreds in their hats.

“ Touching the numbers slain on either side in this battle the same is uncertain; the country-men (who were commanded to bury the corpse) gave out that they interred four thousand

present in during this northern war, I shall put an end to this discourse; where it pleased God to determine my service there. Yet thus with some smart from his rod, to let me see I was not mindful enough of returning my humble thanks and acknowledgments for the deliverances and mercies I received; and for which, alas! I am not yet capable enough to praise him as I ought, that I may say by experience, *Who is a God like unto our God. Therefore, not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give we the praise.*

But as for myself and what I have done, I say with Solomon, *I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do, and behold all was vanity and vexation of spirit.*

For there is no remembrance of the wise more than the fool for ever, seeing that which now is, in the days to come shall be forgotten.

land one hundred and fifty bodies. It was generally reported that at least 3000 of the Prince's men were killed: But the Parliament party would not acknowledge in all their three armies above three hundred slain.

"Cromwell, who was acknowledged by all to be a great agent in this victory, was wounded in the neck, but not dangerously, Sir Thomas Fairfax carried himself with great bravery, and being unhorsed and flung on the ground, and wounded in the head and face, was relieved and carried off by a party of his own horse. On the King's side abundance of gentlemen expressed wonderful courage, and charged with as much resolution as could be expected from men; insomuch that it was confidently reported Prince Rupert should say—*I am sure my men fought well, and know no reason of our rout, but this, Because the devil did help his servants.*"

A GENUINE ACCOUNT OF THE
SIEGE OF MANCHESTER,
IN THE
MONTHS OF SEPT. AND OCT. 1642.

TAKEN FROM A LETTER OF AN INHABITANT OF THAT PLACE,
WHO WAS AN EYE-WITNESS THEREOF.

THE town of *Manchester* at this time was a rich and populace place, but to add more to its grandeur and reputation it was in general a very pious and religious one: But as the finest gold has its alloy, so these people were unhappily divided in their judgments respecting the unnatural division that at this time subsisted betwixt the King and Parliament, part of them declaring for the King, the other for the Parliament; amongst the former was Lord *Strange*, who levied a great body of forces in order to take possession of the town in the King's favour. Amongst the opposite party were Mr. *Holland* of *Denton*, Mr. *Edgerton* of *Shaw*, and Mr. *Erid* of *Denton*, deputy lieutenants by the ordinance of Parliament, did advise and consult with the town what were best to be done in this critical conjuncture for the safety thereof. The result of which consultation was, that they should immediately assemble the militia, and seize upon the town in the name of the Parliament,

liament, which they did, when numbers of the townsmen joined them, who daily exercised each other, and many of them became very expert musketeers, and active and able pikemen. They also had amongst them at this time, an able German engineer, to whose skill, industry, faithfulness and valour (under God) they owed much of their preservation; he gave directions for the chaining up and fortifying the ends of the town, which was at first begun with great diligence, but found great opposition from the other party, who threatened to hinder the setting down of the posts.

Whilst this commotion was in agitation, the King's party in *Cheshire* under the command of Sir *Edward Fitten* and Mr. *Leigh* of *Adlington*, did plunder, pillage, and disarm those of the opposite party, and took from them such arms and other implements they had provided for the safety and protection of themselves and their families. This so alarmed the country people round *Manchester*, that they assembled themselves together in one large body, and marched immediately into the town, and joined the militia and townsmen there, which also gave a fit opportunity to facilitate the setting down of the posts and perfecting the fortifications, which were before opposed and not finished.

On Saturday Sept. 24th, in the night came certain intelligence to the town, that great forces were coming from *Warrington* against it, conducted by Lord *Strange*, Lord *Molineux*, and many other gentlemen, who all assisted with men and money.

At this time there were in the town about 150 of Mr. *Ashton* of *Middleton*'s tenants in complete arms, commanded by Capt. *Bradshaw*, together

with the town's forces, under the command of Capt. *Ratcliffe*, who chearfully and courageously, upon the beating of a drum, repaired to the end of the town, resolving (by God's assistance) to maintain their liberty and property with the utmost hazard of their lives. Hereupon the bells were rung, and posts sent to every part of the country about to give notice of their danger. Whereupon Mr. *Holland* of *Denton*, Capt. *Booth*, son of Sir *George Booth* of, *Dunham*, and other worthy gentlemen, with their tenants and others their neighbours, came in chearfully.

Part of Lord *Strange's* forces came through *Cheshire*, and part on the other side of the river *Irwell*; the breaking of a wheel which carried their ordnance retarded the forces that they came not in view of the town till about nine o'clock on the Lord's day in the morning, and at that time sundry companies appeared in open view. Then two gentlemen were sent to know the reason of their coming in such a hostile manner; his Lordship stayed one of them as an hostage, and sent Capt. *Windebank* to require entrance, and that he might march with his army into the town, which was unanimously denied him; and on this very day (as it is credibly reported) the Earl of *Derby*, his father, died in sorrow and discontent at his son's unnatural actions against his native countrymen.

On Monday Sept. 26th, Lord *Strange*, now Earl of *Derby*, sent another messenger to the same purpose as before, promising to use the town kindly, otherwise fearful destruction might ensue; but his requests were not granted nor his threats regarded; whereupon about twelve o'clock the same day,

day, he began to play with his cannon upon *Deansgate* and *Salford-bridge*: the bullets that were taken up weighed between four and six pounds a-piece. This afternoon the battle was hot on both sides, most of the townsmen charged and discharged most resolutely, to the great admiration and the terror of the enemy.

The fight was first begun by the Earl and his forces, which were in and about a house of Sir *Edward Mosley's*, called the *Lodge*, where they planted some of their cannon and at the same time was seconded by an assault which they made from *Salford-bridge*; they having possessed themselves of the town of *Salford* which joineth to *Manchester*, save only a water betwixt them: Yet this town joined not with *Manchester* in a common defence; but it pleased God that their cannon played in vain upon the town, and therefore they essayed to enter the town by beating the defendants out of their works, which they being not able to do, they sent some of their soldiers to fire two barns and eight or twelve dwelling-houses, about twelve roods from the out-works, which they effected; with great shouting crying out the town is ours, the town is ours, and renewed the assault; but by the valour and courage of Capt. *Bradshaw* and his band of soldiers, they were beaten back and many of them slain in the assault. The wind at the first blew the flames and smoke into the faces of our soldiers, to their great annoyance and endangering of the town; but God who rides upon the wings of the wind, suddenly turned it till the rage of the fire was abated.

Those forces which were in *Salford* endeavoured to enter the bridge, where they found such hot entertainment

entertainment at the hands of Capt. *Roseworm* (the German engineer before mentioned) and his soldiers, that they were there also forced to retreat with the loss of some of their men; but having possessed themselves of a house at the foot of the bridge, they continued all night shooting at those noble defendants.

In this day's fight the town lost not one man; on Tuesday morning a soldier of the enemy's was taken, being mortally wounded, who confessed he was one of the seven that set the barn on fire, and lived but a day after he was apprehended. The same day there were assaults made at other places of the town, especially at the *Market-street-lane-end*, but they were repulsed by Capt. *Ratcliffe* and his company. The townsmen likewise sallied out, took divers prisoners, and slew and put to flight others that were straggling in the fields.

About five of the clock that evening, the Earl of *Derby* founded for a parly, and sent a message in writing to the town, which was as followeth:

“ In obedience to his Majesty's command, I
 “ have drawn some forces hither with no intention
 “ of prejudice to your town, or any person in it;
 “ but to require your ready obedience to his Ma-
 “ jesty in yielding yourselves dutifully and chear-
 “ fully to his protection; which I once more (so
 “ great is the value I set upon the effusion of one
 “ drop of my country's blood) summon you too
 “ under this assurance, that no man's person or
 “ goods shall be harmed, so you give up your
 “ arms to me, to be disposed of according to his
 “ Majesty's command: But if you shall remain ob-
 “ stinate in your disobedience, and resolve to stand
 “ it

“ it out, I will in that way proceed with all honour, by offering you a safe convoy of your women and children out of the town, so that it be done immediately.”

The gentlemen of the town desired till ten of the clock the next day to give their answer; he granted till seven, and they promised mutually that all acts of hostility should cease during that time, which was exactly performed on the town's side, and by means thereof our soldiers (who had been much wearied with watching and fighting three days and three nights before) got comfortable refreshing. But that very same night the enemy was very busy in plundering and pillaging many houses about the town, to the great prejudice of the inhabitants thereof, if not their utter undoing; and also slew two neighbours in *Bolton*, which were coming peaceably with about 150 more to assist the town; and planted two pieces of ordnance in *Salford*, from which they were beaten the next day by musket-shot from the church-yard: And on Wednesday morning the gentlemen returned this answer:

“ May it please your honour,

“ To receive this answer to your propositions;
“ we are not conscious to ourselves of any act committed by us, that you should in the least kind divest us, his Majesty's loyal subjects, of his royal protection, nor to any disobedience to his Majesty's lawful command; for we can no way persuade ourselves that his Majesty, who hath so often and so solemnly declared to rule his people by his laws, and to preserve the properties

“perties of our estates, should now require us to
 “give away our arms, which are (under God) one
 “means of our lawful defence against malignant
 “enemies, and multitudes of bloody papists, which
 “do abound in our country; and had not God
 “by his infinite mercy prevented it, before this
 “day would have made the like rebellion in our
 “country, and committed the like barbarous out-
 “rages against us and all others of the true pro-
 “testant religion, as their bloody brethren have
 “done in *Ireland*, seeing they are acted by the
 “same hellish principle as they.

“And we cannot but much wonder, that your
 “Honour should come against us in such an open
 “hostile manner to take away our arms, which is
 “so absolutely against all law and the right of the
 “subject, which we are bound and faithfully re-
 “solved to maintain, according to our late solemn
 “protestation.

“And we can by no means be assured by your
 “Lordship, of the safety of our persons and goods,
 “if we deliver up our arms, seeing since this
 “treaty, some of our neighbours’ houses, being
 “protestants, have been plundered, or attempted
 “to have been plundered, and some of our friends
 “coming in a peaceable way to our relief, have
 “been cruelly murdered and slain by some of your
 “soldiers.”

This reply to his Lordship’s message being thus
 sent unto him, some few hours after the Earl of
Derby sent Sir *John Mounson* to meditate again,
 who said, his Honour would be content with part
 of their arms. The gentlemen in the town refer-
 red it to the soldiers what to answer hereunto, who
 all

all resolutely answered they would not give him a yard of match, but would maintain their cause and arms to the last drop of their blood.

After the return of this message, his Lordship being enraged therewith, caused his ordnance to play again upon the town, but all his shots, by God's providence, did no harm, save only that they killed a lad who stood gazing upon the top of a stile, who was shot through the side with a cannon bullet, but no other harm done thereby.

Thursday following one Capt. *Standish*, in *Salford*, was slain by a bullet from the town, who (as was reported) was then reproaching his soldiers because they would not fall on, upon whose death the soldiers fled away; and other soldiers also fled by scores daily from Lord *Strange*.

There were slain on his side (as we credibly heard) about 200; and some commanders of note, three whereof were buried at *Didbury*. The town lost but four men in all, whereof two were slain by accident, and two by the enemy.

Upon the Friday following little was done, only the Earl continued playing upon the town with his ordnance and musket-shot from *Salford* and the *Lodge*, and they cast up a trench before the end of *Deansgate*, as if the Earl had intended to make a long siege, his ordnance made holes in divers houses, and battered down a piece of a chimney, but did little harm else. The same night his cannons were removed, and on Saturday he desired that prisoners might be exchanged, and that plundering might cease on both sides; it was answered that the town's party had not plundered one house, but his Lordship's forces had plundered so many that 10,000*l.* would not make a recompense.

Prisoners were exchanged according to his motion, and about noon the same day the Earl (it seemed being tired already with the siege) removed his forces from before the town.

The soldiers in the town, from first to last, had prayers and singing of psalms daily at the ends of the streets, most of them being honest and religious men, and of a very civil and inoffensive conversation, and came out of conscience of their oath and protestation; and the inhabitants and townsmen were very kind and respectful to the soldiers that thus assisted them, and all things were common among them; the gentlemen of the town made bullets night and day; the soldiers were most resolute and courageous, and feared nothing so much as a parly. It was even admirable and wonderful, and might be thought a thing almost impossible, that so many bullets from the cannon and muskets should be shot at the town and yet so few hurt, for there could not be less (on probable conjecture) than four thousand bullets shot from the enemy, small and great, and very near as many from the town, and yet as was said before, not above four men killed and as many wounded.

At the time of the parley or treaty of the Lord *Strange*, with the town as before-mentioned, he asked a gentleman that came to see him, whether his cannon had not slain two or three hundred of our men, but he was answered they had but slain one single person at that time, and that was the boy on the stile, whereat he was even amazed and would hardly believe it.

One soldier was accidentally slain by one of his fellow soldiers's pieces flying off unawares. The enemy's bullets though they flew as thick as hail into

into the town and about the townsmen, yet as was said before, few of them were hurt.

One bullet touched a man's lip, and did him no more hurt; another cut off a soldier's bandaleers as they hung by his side, and touched not his body; yea, a cannon-bullet came so near Capt. *Bradshaw* as that it touched his arm, but hurt him not.

Now these and many of the like visible expressions of God's providence and protection, did so encourage them that (as some of them said) they went as merrily to meet their enemies in the hottest skirmishes, as to a feast; and many of them were heard to say to one another, Go on courageously, through the name of the Lord we shall destroy them; they fall down flat, but we do rise and stand up stedfastly by our God: These things I have by a credible information from an honest and godly inhabitant in *Manchester*, who was an eyewitness of them.

The deputy Lieutenant, Capt. *Chantwell*, and other vigilant and prudent gentlemen of the town, took great pains night and day to see that the soldiers did their duty in their several places and stations, and to encourage and advise them therein.

Many of Lord *Strange's* soldiers wept, and protested their great unwillingness to fight against *Manchester*, affirming they were deceived or deluded or they had never come thither.

Thus at last, the Earl of *Derby*; weary of this unsuccessful business, left the town and marched away from them about the beginning of October with his army, which consisted at his first approach of at least 4000 foot, seven pieces of ordnance, 200 dragoons, and 100 horsemen, and thus ended this memorable and remarkable affair.

THE

SIEGE OF PRESTON,

FEBRUARY 10th, 1643.

ABOUT this time Sir *John Seaton*, a most renowned valiant Knight, and Major-General of the Parliament's forces in *Lancashire*, lying at *Manchester* with a body of troops, marched from thence towards the town of *Preston*, attended by Serjeant-Major *Sparrow*, Col. *Holland*, Capt. *Booth*, Serjeant-Major *Birch*, and with them three companies of foot, together with as many more from *Bolton*, who all met together at *Blackburn*, where they were joined with four or five companies of *Blackburn* hundred, under the command of Capt. *Nowel*, of *Meakley*, and some other Captains, with about 2000 club-men.

Their march that night was tedious unto them, especially to many who had marched the day and night before; but yet, to accommodate them therein, it pleased God to favour them with a very fair night to travel in, such as had not been for a considerable time before, which they took for a very great mercy, and a good omen of success.

Thus they came before the town of *Preston*, it being on Wednesday at night, the next morning every preparation was made necessary to attack the town which was well fortified with a brick wall, both outer and inner.

Our

Our men (but especially the three companies that came from *Manchester*) assaulted the town with the greatest courage and undaunted resolution. Capt. *Booth* was the first who most bravely scaled the walls, and being got up, called out to his men saying, "Follow me or give me up for ever," which words so animated the soldiers that they became fearless, and forgetting every danger, resolutely followed their brave leader; Colonel *Holland's* company beholding the unparalleled resolution of these brave men, resolved to follow them, so that there became much strife amongst them who should exert themselves most in this bold attempt; but the brave Capt. *Booth* still had the precedence, and made the first entrance.

The garrison fought it out in a most wonderful manner, and kept their inner works with push of pikes; and the breach they also bravely defended with their swords for a considerable time.

The Major-General Sir *John Seaton*, behaved himself most bravely at the end of the *Church-street*; where an entry was also made, and our men beat them most resolutely from their posts, and from the steeple. Thus the fight continued on both sides with the greatest courage and resolution for near two hours, till our men with invincible bravery became masters of the town.

There were divers slain on both sides, but especially on the town's side in this assault; and as if men must needs have singled out some on purpose for the slaughter; yea, the *Manchestrians* themselves could scarcely have picked out fitter men for the sword than those that were slain in the fight, especially the Major of *Preston*, Mr. *Adam Morte*, a man resolute to desperation in the cause
he

he stood for, who had oftentimes been heard to say and swear too, he would fire the town before he would give it up, and would begin with his own house; but fighting most desperately, and having killed one of the Colonel's men in the fight, with the push of pike instantly after lost his own life for it, together with his own son's also, a bold and desperate young fellow.

Sir *Gilbert Haughton's* brother a Captain of their horse, was also slain, Serjeant-Major *Purvey*, lately come out of *Ireland*, having been a rebel there and concerned in the cruel massacre, a wicked desperate papist; Dr. *Westley*, a physician; together with two or three Lieutenants, and some others of quality were also slain, and a great many mortally wounded.

Sir *Gilbert Haughton* himself escaped by flight to *Wigham*, Capt. *Farrington* and Capt. *Preston* were taken prisoners; and old Mr. *Anderton* of *Clayton* (their commander) was also taken prisoner, together with Mr. *George Talbot*, Sir *John Talbot's* son; Mr. *Richard Fleetwood*; Mr. *Blundel*; Mr. *Abbot*; Mr. — *Mansley*; Mr. *Thomas Houghton*, and Capt. *Haughton*, Sir *Gilbert's* nephew, all men of quality; *Ralph Sherrock*, *John Hilton*, and above 200 others of meaner condition; Mr. *Townley* of *Townley* very hardly escaped by flight.

Lady *Haughton* and Lady *Girlington*, wives to their chief leaders, were also taken as prizes: We also took three pieces of ordnance and a large mortar-piece, a great number of muskets, and many horses, with two or three colours, and divers inhabitants of the town were pillaged on purpose. There were but two or three barrels of powder found in the town.

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We had not one officer slain on our side, and but three or four common soldiers in this assault, which was very remarkable and surprising, considering the number slain and taken prisoners on the enemy's side; But indeed we gave the enemy no time to annoy us with their great guns, our entry was so quick and violent, and the execution done was chiefly by the sword and club-men, who did excellent service.

This victory in taking the town, was not only very extraordinary in itself in securing a place of great advantage and preservation to the parliament's forces, but likewise in preventing the enemy from marching their forces and intercepting our passage from *Newcastle* to *Chester* and *Shrewsbury*, so that the country in general was now open, and consequently of singular advantage to our forces in general.

About this time a large ship, laden with necessary supplies for the King's forces in these parts, or rather (as supposed) for the *Irish* rebels, was driven by stress of weather upon the sands in this county, whereof the brave *Manchestrians* having notice, they speedily posted thither, together with some other of the Parliament's forces, seized upon the said ship, and took out of her nineteen pieces of brass ordnance and two iron ones, with much powder and arms.

The next day the Earl of *Derby* came up with a body of men, intending to have preserved the said ship, but he was too late, and therefore lost his labour as he had often done before in contending with his countrymen; however he possessed himself of the hull of the ship only, and because he would (as he thought) get himself some honour, having

having lost so much, he set her on fire, but withal make haste to return for fear he should be espied by the light of the flame, and so be himself surprized.

Shortly after this Serjeant-Major *Birch* was sent from *Preston* to *Lancaster* with a body of men, in order to subdue the enemy in that town, who marched up with so much precipitation, together with such courage and resolution, that the enemy were struck with such fear and timidity of spirit, that they made little or no resistance, so that he easily took possession of the place and became master of it, the townsmen assisting him.

The Earl of *Derby* now lying at *Wigan* with a large body of men strongly entrenched, it being a place where much of the enemy's treasure and ammunition were repositied: Major-General Sir *John Seaton* marched his forces from *Preston* towards that place, together with his brave *Manchestrians* and club-men of those parts, where a battle immediately began with the greatest fury on both sides, and for some time remained doubtful, but at length victory declared for the Parliament's General, and the Earl of *Derby* beat of the field and compelled to fly towards *Blackburn*.

There were made prisoners of the Earl's forces about 800 men, 500 or upwards fled with the Duke; above 1000 arms, besides ordnance and other ammunition, fell into our hands, and treasure and goods to the value of twenty thousand pounds as least.

From hence the *Manchestrians*, with their faithful and valiant German engineer, marched on to *Warrington*, a place also of good strength and great resort of the enemy, which presently they came before

before; and set down, and besieged it in form; the enemy immediately fled to the church and steeple, and exceeding boldly and resolutely defended themselves for some time, but the brave *Manchestrians* environed them on every side, raised a battery against the church, and obliged the enemy to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

These advantages gained over the King's party by the Parliament's forces, came so close one upon another, that it almost put an end to the civil broils in this part of the country, and had the Earl of *Derby* stopt here when he returned from burning the large ship afore-mentioned, it is likely the country in general had been freed at present from these calamities; but the Earl fled to a town called *Whaley*, near *Blackburn*, his army then consisted of about 500 horse, 500 foot, and 2000 club-men; the inhabitants thereof not expecting such a visitant were very much surprised, and not being properly provided for defending themselves against so potent an enemy, they calmly submitted; and the Earl took possession of the town without molestation; but knowing very well how the affections of the town and country adjacent were towards him, he took every method in his power to secure himself and his troops from being surprised by the enemy; he therefore took possession of the church and lined it with men, and the steeple likewise; and took every other precaution necessary, in order if possible to frustrate every attack of the enemy.

Whilst the Earl was thus busied in securing himself, the country around him were as busy in raising and collecting together what strength they could in order to dislodge him, if possible, from his strong hold. They presently gathered together a body

of about 300 musketeers, 300 horse, and 200 club-men, and notwithstanding the Earl was not only superior in force, but also better situated than they, yet they were resolved to attack him, which they immediately did; beat them out of the church and steeple, and from every other post, and presently drove them out of the town into the open field.

This defeat so exasperated the Earl, that he challenged them into the field there to decide the matter, which challenge they accepted, and forthwith marched out and furiously set upon him, slew 300 of his men, routed the whole army, and pursued them upwards of six miles. The Earl with his scattered army flew towards *Wigan*.

This affair happened the latter end of April, and in the beginning of May following, the brave *Manchesterians*, under the command of Colonel *Ashton*, with about 2000 horse and foot, marched towards *Wigan*, where Colonel *Tilsley* commanded for the Earl of *Derby*, with nine troops of horse, and several hundred foot, but when the brave Colonel *Ashton* appeared before the town, the enemy were smitten with astonishment of heart and durst not maintain their ground, but fled away to *Latham*, leaving *Wigan* to their possession.

Whereupon the Colonel demolished all the out-works and fortifications, burnt the new gates and posts which the enemy had set up, took an oath of the townsmen never to bear arms against the King and Parliament, and then the Colonel pursued the enemy in their flight to *Latham*, whereupon the Earl of *Derby* and his company fled from thence to a town called *Preston*, thinking there to have drawn in the country to his assistance.

but

but the brave *Manchestrians* pursued them close thither also, and the enemy was forced to fly back to *Latham*; but Colonel *Ashton* still pursued them and forced them from thence again, and made them fly to *Preston*, whither also the *Manchestrians*, giving neither themselves nor their enemy any rest, followed them close, still driving the Earl thence also, and made him fly either to *Hornby-Castle*; or else to the Queen into the North. His forces were driven at least eight miles from *Preston*, and pursued by Colonel *Ashton*, whose forces much encreased by these his prosperous proceedings, for many of the Earl's soldiers left him and joined the Colonel, and chearfully offered their service.

The Earl being thus pursued from place to place and out of one strong hold after another, and his forces as well as himself entirely expelled out of the country; he shortly after sent a letter to Colonel *Ashton*, desiring him not to fire his house at *Latham*, promising him three hundred pounds to spare it; but the noble Colonel sent him word that he scorned his money or the firing of his house, and desired nothing more of him than if he pleased to meet him and to give him battle, but the Earl utterly declined it: and thus the enemy of their country, being haunted like as many ravenous beasts out of every strong hold, the whole county of *Lancaster* was wonderfully and providentially freed from all the toils, fears and calamities they had some time undergone in this unnatural war, *Warrington* only excepted; where a party of the enemy had collected themselves together after they had been dispersed from thence: but about the beginning of June, the brave *Manchestrians* again formed themselves into a body,

and with the greatest courage and alacrity marched towards *Warrington*, determined to dislodge them; they presently arrived there, and immediately stormed the town, and forced the enemy, sword in hand to surrender, notwithstanding Lord *Capell* had sent the enemy word at *Warrington*, if they would hold out the town a little longer, he would certainly relieve them, but the messenger was intercepted by the *Namptwich* forces, who understanding thereby Lord *Capell* was marching that way, they made out with all speed to *White-church*, and suddenly surprised that town, slew 150 of the enemy, and took forty prisoners, some of them men of great worth and quality; took 500 arms, and ammunition of powder and bullets, and manned and fortified the town for the King and Parliament.

At *Warrington* were taken at least 600 prisoners, and eight pieces of ordnance: This almost put an end to the civil commotions in this part of the country.



A GENUINE ACCOUNT OF THE
TAKING OF BRADFORD,

COPIED

FROM A MANUSCRIPT WRITTEN BY JOSEPH LISTER, WHO
 WAS AN EYE-WITNESS THEREOF.

IN the year 1642, one Lord's-day I went to hear the Rev. Mr. *Wales* preach, and whilst divine service was performing, a man whose name was *Sugden*, came hastily up to the chapel door, and with a lamentable voice cried out, Friends we are all as good as dead men, for the *Irish* rebels * are at *Rochdale*, and will be at *Halifax* and *Bradford* shortly; he added no more, but immediately set off towards *Bradford*, the place from whence he came, on purpose to alarm the country.

Imagine, dear reader, for my pen is not able to describe the confusion and disorder of the whole congregation, some ran out in the greatest consternation, others began to talk with their friends, the women in general wrung their hands and

* Previous to this there had been an insurrection in *Ireland*, wherein the *Irish* papists had massacred 100,000 protestants, men, women and children in one night, and had also threatened that when they had dispatched the handful that was left there, they would come and do the same with the Parliament and protestants here.

wept,

wept, the children screamed aloud and clung to their parents, horror and amazement sat upon every countenance, insomuch that the minister was prevented going on in his work for some time, 'till by soft persuasions, and exhorting them to a steady trust and confidence in the Lord; at length they became a little composed, and he went on peaceably to the end of the service. At the conclusion thereof I immediately set home to *Bradford*, with great anxiety of mind; at my coming thither I found the inhabitants gathered together in parties, advising and consulting together what method to pursue (for they had heard that the rebels had got to *Halifax*) in this their deplorable state and situation; at length it was determined to send a party of horsemen to *Halifax*, to enquire further into the truth of the matter, who on their coming there, found it all an untruth, for the supposed rebels were only a few poor protestants who had fled out of *Ireland* to prevent their falling a prey to the rage and malice of the unmerciful papists, who were still pursuing the lives of those who had hitherto escaped their bloody purpose.

This news at the messenger's return caused a general joy and gladness in every breast, for before all was confusion and despair, each one forming to himself how to preserve his own and the lives of those for whom he was concerned (for the preservation of life swallows up almost every idea whatsoever;) their countenances now spoke the inward sensations of their minds, their spirits resumed their wonted vigour and alacrity, and trade and occupation began a little to revive.

But ah! how short and fleeting are all terrestrial enjoyments,

enjoyments, how are they subject to changes and vicissitudes! for in a short time after this, a body of horse and foot of the King's troops, were sent and quartered in the town, who threatened the inhabitants what they would do, only waiting for orders to execute and satiate their bloody designs upon us, by destroying all with fire and sword.

Here, gentle reader, pause a little, and reflect what a deplorable state and condition the inhabitants of *Bradford* must now be in; none durst scarce appear in public nor go about their lawful concerns; horror and despair clouded every countenance, and distressed the mind of every individual; before it was only report, but now it is matter of fact; till now danger was at a considerable distance, but now it is a reality, and at our very doors; desolation and destruction appear with the most formidable and frightful aspect! O! may our rising generations never feel the calamities of a civil war.

After some time it pleased God in his Providence to favour us with a little respite; for these troops were recalled, and we again left at leisure to act in such a manner as best suited our present circumstances.

We now began to think of putting ourselves in some posture of defence, supposing it might not be long before another visit would be paid us, accordingly we called to our assistance the neighbouring villages, who willingly seconded our resolutions; we therefore set about fortifying ourselves with the greatest alacrity, resolution and assiduity, in order, if possible, to frustrate every attempt that might be made upon us to deprive us of our liberties and properties from every invader whatsoever,
for

for we had not the least reason to hope for any mercy from their hands, but every thing to the contrary.

We blocked up every avenue leading into the town, sent out spies, and watched every motion of the enemy, a party of which lay at *Leeds*; ere long news was brought they were breaking up their quarters, and making every preparation in order to attack us; accordingly every man that was able to make any defence, provided himself with such weapons as they could best procure, and every thing requisite for their defence; accordingly the enemy came forward, and pitched their tents on that part of the common called *Hundercliff* in three separate bodies, where they entrenched themselves and lay there for that day, which was about a mile distant from the town; the next morning they struck their tents and advanced towards us, and came to the brow of the hill, where they exhibited to our view their ensigns of war, which were truly very awful and tremendous to behold; here they halted, and made every preparation necessary to attack us; they were about 7 or 800 men, we about 300; they had several pieces of cannon, we had none; they began to play their ordnance upon us with great fury; we drew up close to the town in order to receive them; they had the advantage of the ground, which exposed us more to their cannon, from which we sustained some loss; but our men defended these passes so well, by which they were to descend, that they got no ground of us; moreover, whilst each party were exerting themselves to the utmost of their power, Providence in a most miraculous and surprising manner interfered in our favour, by send-

ing the heaviest shower of snow, attended with a mighty strong and blustering wind, which beat directly in their faces with such impetuosity, that they were not able to withstand or support it; besides, at the same time, one of their great guns burst asunder, which so intimidated and struck them with amazement, that they with the greatest precipitation and confusion, fled towards *Leeds*, whilst we, not thinking it prudent to pursue them, by reason of the hurricane and other inconveniences, returned into the town.

Thus it pleased the Almighty to deliver us out of the jaws of death, and afford us a second opportunity of providing against another attack, which we might reasonably expect would be much more formidable than the last, that they might revenge themselves upon us for their shameful and unexpected defeat; for they had determined upon our ruin and final destruction, and promised themselves nothing short of success.

We again called in fresh succours to our assistance from *Halifax*, *Bingley*, and their adjacent villages, and they came willingly and speedily to assist us; we also got a Captain from *Halifax*, a man of military skill, who instructed us in the best manner possible how to guard and fortify ourselves, which we set about with the greatest diligence imaginable, understanding that the Earl of *Newcastle*, who commanded the King's forces, had not a very strong reinforcement, and had plundered *Leeds* already, and intended to pay us another unwelcome visit, that they might satiate their revenge upon us with the greatest avidity; we therefore resolved to conquer or die, there was no alternative; our Captain mustered all his men,

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which

which were about eighty that had muskets or long guns; the greatest part of these he placed in the church and upon the steeple; the rest were armed with clubs, scythes, spits, flails, halberts, sickles laid in long poles, and such like rustic weapons; these he placed in such a manner, and in such order, as best to prevent the enemy from entering the town, or taking possession of the church, which we very well understood would be their first and chief attempt to do; we accordingly bent our thoughts for the safety of that place, which was sacred to God and man, how to procure it if possible, from their wicked and profane purposes; we therefore hung large sheets of wool upon that side of the steeple facing the road by which they were to approach us, so close to each other, and so nigh the roof of the church, that it would be with difficulty for a ball to penetrate the steeple.

Having thus taken every method requisite for its security and our own, we remained quiet for some days, our spies being out, with positive orders, upon the first moving of the enemy towards us, to repair hither with the greatest speed imaginable and to alarm the country as they passed along.

Accordingly on the eighteenth of December, being the sabbath day, the Earl of Newcastle sent the van of his army again from Leeds, consisting of five troops of horse, six troops of dragoons, and two hundred foot, commanded by Colonel Goring, Colonel Evans, Sir William Savile, and Sir John Gotheric, intending with these troops to surprise the town while the inhabitants were engaged in divine service. But our scouts return and alarm the town and country of their approach; and now what hurry and confusion immediately ensue; the whole

whole congregation betake themselves to flight, and seek for refuge where they think most safe; every man is now ordered to his post, armed with such weapons as he was beforehand provided with; all; the church and steeple secured in the best manner we possibly could; being determined (relying upon Divine assistance) to defend it to the last extremity.

Again they approach us with the sound of warlike music, and their streamers flying in the air; tremendous sight! enough to make the stoutest heart to tremble! to shake the nerves, and loose the joints of every beholder! Amazing, to see the different effects it had upon others, who were fired with rage (even) to madness, and filled with revenge almost to enthusiasm.

They then advanced nearer, and set down in *Barker-end*, not above three hundred paces above the church, where they raised a battery against it, but chiefly against the steeple, intending if possible to erase it to the ground; perhaps because they feared to suffer the greatest harm by those who were placed therein; ten or twelve of the best marksmen being in that part of the steeple judged most proper to annoy the enemy; others were in and about the church; and every pass leading thereto, and those in the town were guarded in the best manner our little army of men would admit of, which were very small in comparison to the number of our enemies, which we thought upwards of two thousand, with a train of artillery suitable thereto.

Each party being in this position, the enemy began to fire with the greatest fury upon us, and especially against the steeple, and in a small space

of time discharged their great guns seventeen times; at length one of our men with a fowling-piece, from off the steeple, killed one of their cannoneers, and instantly we all with the greatest courage, resolution and intrepidity, issued out of the town upon the enemy, who expected rather a speedy surrender than resistance; this so much daunted and surpris'd them that they were at a loss what course to take; but perceiving how advantageous the steeple was to our men, and how they were incommoded by the fire from thence, they presently possessed themselves of some houses and a barn nearer the church, very convenient for the shelter of their men, and brought their cannon also nearer the church; from hence they sent out Sir *John Gotheric's* troop of horse, who encompassed the town and some little villages on the side of it; they robbed a woman most basely, and cowardly slew two unarmed men as they pass'd by; and so coming within sight of the town's centinal at the west-end, the centinal fired upon them, and wounded two or three of their horses, one of which, being but slightly hurt, was brought into the town; and in a little time, partly by the shot from the town, and partly by the approach of some club-men from *Bingley*, they were forced to return to their party.

In the mean time their cannon was removed to such a place as they could conveniently play upon the town, and especially upon that part called *Kirkgate*, by which the townsmen must of necessity march in order to relieve their party, and best resist the enemy; those upon the steeple made great havock and confusion among the enemy, for when any buff or scarlet coat appeared within their

reach, they had two or three guns pointed in one hole, and discharged at once upon them, and generally with success, which thereby greatly deterred the rest from relieving their men which were in the houses; and thus they continued till high noon; about which time there came to our assistance some fire-men and club-men from *Halt-fax*, who immediately were put to service, some in the church, others in the lanes near the houses where the enemy lodged; those in the church and lanes kept the houses in play, and those on the steeple hindered the enemy from relieving those in the houses; but seeing this was not the way to repel the enemy, for the largeness of the church windows, and the smallness of their houses, made their assault more secure and our defence more dangerous; which the townsmen perceiving, and that this way did but waste themselves and their ammunition, they therefore resolved to win or lose all at once by a general assault; therefore, watching an opportunity betwixt the discharge and charging again of the cannon of the enemy, our men sallied out of the church, and being seconded by those in the lanes, rushed up to the houses, burst open the doors, slew them that resisted, and took those that yielded, the rest fled into the field adjoining, where some of the townsmen followed (the greatest part of them being employed in conveying the men and ammunition which the enemy had left behind them) and in the field the skirmish grew hotter than ever; the townsmen were too eager to keep rank and file, though they before had been taught so to do; but this disorder proved very advantageous to our men, for mixing themselves with the enemy they therefore

fore fought securely even in the mouth of the enemy's cannon, and in the eye of one body of their forces, both placed in the field above them, they not daring to discharge their cannon upon us, lest in so doing they should destroy their own men together with us; otherwise they had ten fire-men for one, and might have cut us all off in an instant; nor could our men use their muskets but as clubs. To speak ingenuously, their commanders being exasperated at the cowardice of their common soldiers, manifested greater courage themselves; but they were well paid for it, for our scythes and clubs now and then reached them sorely, and few else did the townsmen aim at; one among the rest in a scarlet coat (said to be Colonel Goring himself) our club-men had got hold of, and were spoiling of him, but a party of their horse fearing the loss of such a man, became more courageous than they intended, so leaping over a hedge, came full gallop upon our men, forcing them to give a little ground, but they quickly recovered themselves, though they lost their man, and redoubling their courage, would neither give nor take quarter (not through cruelty but ignorance, as the enemy themselves afterwards confessed) and in the end forced both man and horse out of the field: Yet ours could not keep it, for now being separated from the enemy, their musketeers were at liberty to play upon our men; and now indeed they rained such a shower of lead among them, as forced them to retreat to the next hedge for shelter, and so hindered them from pursuing their men; their ordnance also all this time playing upon the town and steeple; nevertheless, that which was planted against the steeple did it

no harm; that intended to scour *Kirkgate* though planted in the most advantageous place, though the streets were continually crouded with people, and the bullets did hit some of the houses, and some of them whistled through the streets, yet was not any man hurt therewith; which was nothing short of the wonderful goodness of the Almighty in protecting the lives of the inhabitants in such a surprising and miraculous manner.

One circumstance somewhat remarkable cannot be omitted; during the heat of this action, a stout young officer (said to be the Earl of *Newport's* son) heading a company of foot, came down the field on the left side of the high road, under cover of a thick hedge, intending to force a passage through a house and so surprise the church: But being too sanguine, pushed on a little too fast before his men, fell into an ambuscade;—being cut off from his men, and seeing no way to escape, begged for quarter, but was answered by one *Ralph Atkinson*, saying, ‘He would give him *Bradford* quarter,’ and immediately slew him. His men understanding what had happened, and struck with astonishment at the loss of their leader, fled with the greatest precipitation, and were pursued by a party of our men, who slew some of them; then the whole body of the enemy begun to retreat; for they had sent of their baggage before; and thus the terror of the Lord, and our men falling upon them, away they went, (using their feet better than their hands) and about fifty of our musketeers and clubmen after them, which courage of ours did most of all astonish the enemy who said afterwards, no fifty men in the world, except they were drunk or mad, would have pursued one thousand. Our
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men indeed shot and fought as if they had been mad, and the enemy truly fell as if they had been drunk; some discharged ten, some twelve times in the pursuit, and having the whole body of the enemy for their butt, it may easily be imagined what good execution was done in a mile and a half pursuit, for they followed them up to the moor; but fearing to be environed by the horse, they retreated, so weary after eight hours fight (for so long it lasted) that they could scarce return to the town.

One thing I cannot omit; a hearty Round-head for so the enemy called us) left by his comrades, and surrounded by three of the enemy's horse, discharged his musket upon one, struck down another's horse with the butt-end of it, broke a third's sword, beating it back to his throat, and put them all to flight, which relation (though strange as the rest) yet is most certainly true.

There was slain in this notable and remarkable skirmish, Sir *John Harp*, the Earl of *Newport's* son, (by *Atkinson*, who took great store of gold out of his pockets, a gold ring, &c. but it is said, upon a serious reflection he greatly lamented so rash an action) and Capt. *Birns* whom the enemy carried away to *Leeds*, who died of his wounds three days after. Their wounded was Sir *John Gotheric*, (whose horse was killed with a scythe) Colonel *Goring*, General of the horse, and one hundred common soldiers. Of ours not above three at most fell by the enemy, and about twelve wounded, all curable except two: There were also taken prisoners of the enemy, Serjeant-major *Crew*, twenty-six common soldiers, about ten horses, 180lb. weight of powder, and about forty muskets.

kets. Thus our wants were supplied out of our enemy's store, leaving us in a much better stock of arms and ammunition than we had at their first coming.

The next day the enemy sent a trumpeter to demand the body of the Earl's son, which was given them. Thus the hand of the Lord again appeared in the most conspicuous and astonishing manner in our deliverance, who, by a handful of raw unskilful men, triumphed over and put to rout an army of 1000 men well-armed and disciplined for war: With truth may it be said, The battle is not to the strongest nor the race to the swiftest.

Our enemy now returned to *Leeds*, to the other part of their army lying there, and we again were left at leisure to reflect upon our wonderful and surprising deliverance.

Now we began to hope the worst was past, that the enemy would perhaps leave this part of the country, and we left at liberty to follow our respective callings; but presently after this my Lord *Fairfax*, and Sir *Thomas* his son, arrived at *Bradford*, with a body of forces, and collected what assistance they could possibly here, and marched towards *Wakefield* in order to give the Earl of *Newcastle* battle. They met at *Adwalton* and immediately engaged each other, where my Lord was routed and his army dispersed. My Lord took the road to *Bradford*, with part of his scattered army; Sir *Thomas* took towards *Halifax* with the other part, but the next day arrived at *Bradford*, and joined my Lord, as has been before related in his *Memoirs*; and now our troubles began again; fresh storms arise, and clouds of sorrows gather

blackness over our heads, threatening us with greater distresses, if possible, than heretofore; for the Earl of Newcastle, flushed with the victory he had now gained over my Lord *Fairfax*, and fired with rage against us for the repulse we had lately given him, immediately marched a most formidable army towards us, where he sets down at a place called *Bowling-Hall*, and presently comes forward to a place convenient for his purpose, where he directly points his cannon upon the town, but more especially against the church and steeple, as if he was determined to revenge himself of that place from whence he had of late met with such severe treatment.

We therefore took every precaution to prevent his mischievous purpose, and again hung sheets of wool on that side the steeple facing their battery, and put ourselves in the best posture of defence possible, in hopes of repulsing them once more. They presently began to play their cannon upon us with the greatest indignation imaginable, so that their shot cut the cords whereon the sheets of wool hung, and down they fell, which the enemy immediately perceiving, loudly huzza'd at their fall! but night approaching, the fire of their cannon in some measure ceased, and we in some sort repaired our breaches.

The next day, being the Sabbath, a drum was beat for a parley, which was agreed to on both sides, and continued the most part of that day: In the mean time the enemy took the opportunity to remove their cannon, brought them nearer the town, and fixed them in a certain place called *Goodman's-End*, directly against the heart of the town, and surrounded us on every side with horse
and

and foot, so that it was almost impossible for a single person to escape; nor could the troops within the town act upon the defensive for want of ammunition, which they had lost in their last defeat at *Adwalton*, nor had they a single match but such as were made of twisted cords dipped in oil.

Towards night the parley broke up, but nothing offered advantageous to the troops in general, or to the town in particular, so that they immediately opened this new battery upon us, and made a most furious fire therewith; three men sitting together on a bench at the lower part of *Goodman's-End*, two of them were cut off and swept out of time in a moment.

Oh! that dreadful and never-to-be-forgotten night, which was mostly spent in firing those destructive engines upon us! so that the blaze issuing therefrom, appeared like lightening from heaven, the elements appearing as if on fire, and the loud roaring of the cannon resembling the mighty thunders of the sky! At the dead of night Sir *Thomas Fairfax* called a council of war, and seeing there was not the least possibility of defending the town or themselves, as they were but a handful of men in comparison of the enemy; it was therefore unanimously resolved upon, that at break of day the next morning, every man should endeavour to force his way through the enemy, sword in hand, or die in the desperate attempt; there was no alternative, every other method was impracticable, and this had small appearance of success; for the enemy had blocked up every avenue leading to or from the town with strong parties of horse and foot; but Sir *Thomas* for his own part and his officers likewise, were determined

minged not to give up themselves prisoners to the mercy of the Earl. Accordingly in the morning the desperate resolve was put into execution, and carried on with the greatest resolution and bravery; for notwithstanding the enemy defended their passes with the greatest courage imaginable, yet they made their way through them with the loss of very few men; the greatest part of them took the road to *Hull*.

Here, reader, pause for a moment, and suppose thyself to be in the like dilemma! Words cannot express, thought cannot imagine, nay, art itself is not able to paint out the calamities and woeful distresses we are now overwhelmed withal! Every countenance overspread with sorrow; every house overwhelmed with grief; husbands lamenting over their families; women wringing their hands in despair; children shrieking, crying, and clinging to their parents; death in all his dreadful forms and frightful aspects, stalking in every street and every corner! In short, horror, despair, and destruction united their efforts to spread devastation, and complete our ruin!

What were all our former calamities in comparison to these? Before there was some glimmering hope of mercy from the enemy, but now it is fled; fled in every appearance; our foes exasperated with the opposition they had met with from us; but especially the cruel death by which the Earl of *Newport's* son fell, by our unwary townsman. For behold! immediately orders were issued out to the soldiers, by the Earl of *Newcastle* their commander, that, the next morning they should put to the sword every man, woman, and child, without regard to age, sex, or distinction whatsoever.

whatsoever. Thus by gradation have our miseries and calamities been heightened, till like an overflowing torrent they bore down all before them, and swept off every object with their destructive force. But here I must beg leave to inform the reader of a report that prevailed amongst the inhabitants (for I mean not to affirm it), of a circumstance that was said to happen the night before the above-mentioned sentence was to have been put in execution.

The Earl of *Newcastle* being in bed, at *Bowling-Hall*, an apparition appeared and importuned him with these words, *Pity poor Bradford! Pity poor Bradford!* How far this was true, I humbly submit it for others to determine: But this I must affirm, that the hand of Providence never more conspicuously appeared in our favour; for, lo! the Earl immediately countermanded the former order, and forbade the death of any person whatsoever, except only such as made resistance; so that no lives were lost, save about ten persons who fell into the hands of some desperadoes, who contrary to the Earl's orders, satiated their revenge upon them.

Thus from a state of anguish and despair, we who were but just now ready to be swallowed up, by the wonderful Providence of the Almighty, were reprieved as criminals from the rack. See what a surprising change immediately takes place; the countenances of those who were but just before overspread with horror and despair, began in some measure, to resume their former gaiety and chearfulness; a general joy and gladness diffused itself through every breast; the heart of those who were, ere now, overwhelmed with sorrow,

row, are now big with praise and thanksgiving to God for the wonderful and surprising deliverance brought about in their favour.

Now it was that the inhabitants, in some measure durst appear again in the streets; amongst such I ventured abroad, and took a walk up *Kirk-gate*, and at my return, met with a particular acquaintance leading his horse; I asked him what he was about to do, and how he durst venture to appear with his horse in public? he said he had attempted to join the parliaments forces, but was prevented by the guards that were posted in every place about the town to obstruct any such attempt; that his brother *Sharp* was gone a volunteer with them, for whose safety he was much concerned; that he feared he should never see him more, and therefore wished he could find an opportunity to follow him: He entreated me, if possible to accompany him out of town. I was very much concerned for him, but we were surrounded on every side by the enemy's troops, so that it seemed impossible to escape their vigilance, and therefore could not devise which way to be serviceable to him; however I told him I would ask my mother's advice and leave to accompany him, which I did, and she granted, though with reluctance. Accordingly we walked towards the church, intending to go through a certain lane called *Deadman's-Lane*, but when we came there, were prevented by a post of the enemy set on purpose to examine every passenger that came that way; we therefore returned and came up *Kirk-gate* again; I now advised my friend to leave his horse in the town, peradventure we might better accomplish our design on foot; accordingly he did

so, and we now walked up above the market-place, intending to go down a lane called *Sill-Briggs-Lane*, but there also we were prevented by the like occasion as before; However we endeavoured to escape their notice, and so evade their purpose, which we happily did by taking the right side of them, and so got down to the water side; but on a sudden we heard a party of horse coming down a lane called *Leg-grams*; we skulked under the side of a high ditch, where we lay undiscovered till they were passed by, not daring to stir for some time, and night approaching, which was but short for it was in the month of June, 1643; we laid there till the break of day, at which time we set off intending to go to a village called *Clayton*, we had not gone far before we met with two troopers, who behaved pretty well to us; they had left their horses in the town, for they had been about business in the country and were returning; we thought to have returned with them, but meeting with two other persons, who like us were seeking refuge, we again altered our purpose and pursued the road we before had intended.

We had not gone far before we saw a trooper on horseback in full speed towards us; struck with amazement, we all set a running together, and as we ran, a sudden thought came into my mind;—if we continue together we shall all be taken; I therefore immediately separated from my companions and made directly towards the opposite fence, where luckily meeting with a thick holley, I rushed into the thickest part of it, and pulling the branches about me as well as I possibly could, while the trooper in full speed pursuing my companions at length overtook them, having wounded
 one,

one, the other two surrendered, so took them all three, and passing by the place where I lay concealed heard him enquire for their other companion, but they not perceiving where I lay, told him they could not inform him.

Having thus escaped being taken by the troopers, I lay still all day, not daring to stir for fear of being perceived and pursued a second time: When night approached I ventured out of my lurking place, resolving to go to *Colne* in *Lancashire*, where I understood my master was (for I was yet an apprentice) knowing he went off with a party that went thitherward, after their defeat at the battle of *Adwalton*. I travelled all night, and coming thither presently found my master, who received me very kindly. He enquired how matters had gone at *Bradford* since he left it; I informed him of every circumstance that occurred to my mind, especially of my late escape out of the hands of the trooper. He asked me if I was willing to return to *Bradford* again and enquire what was become of my dame (his wife) and let him know further hereafter; I consented so to do, and accordingly in the morning set out on my return thither, but when I came near the town, fear and amazement seized my spirits; for some time I durst not approach it, not knowing whether the enemy had abandoned it or not; and the late danger I had so narrowly escaped rested upon my mind; however darkness coming on, I approached a little nearer, and so entered in at the upper part of the town, but durst not proceed far therein; for I had not as yet met with any person to give me the least information how matters stood with them; so I stepped into the first place I could possibly

possibly meet withal, which was an empty cellar; where I lay all night, nor durst I stir for fear of being discovered; but slept little.

As soon as it was light, I crept out of my subterraneous lodging; but oh! what a scene of devastation and distress presented itself to my view: the King's forces had entered the town, ransacked and pillaged it of every thing they met with that was valuable, emptied their chests and sacks of the meal that was in them, and what they could not carry with them they threw into the streets; emptied their beds of the feathers and chaff and threw them into the streets also, so that they were covered with meal, feathers, chaff, and other household stuff; drove away their live cattle to their camp, which was at *Bowling-Hall*, and sold them by public sale. I then began to enquire for my dame, and at length found her, delivered my message from my master, together with some gold he had sent her. She informed me the soldiers, amongst others, had drove away her cow also, together with many other embarrassments, which had obliged her to take such methods for her safety as were disagreeable to her; that her condition was such she did not know what course to take, and therefore desired I would again consult my master concerning her; which I immediately did; at the news of which he was sadly perplexed: He sent me back again with instructions to my dame, and withal advising us to go the camp and buy our own cow, or another, get our grass mown, and stay together if possible till the enemy left the country, and then he would return home to us. I returned, and pursuant to his orders went to the camp and bought a cow and brought her home.

but before the next day at night the soldiers came and drove her back to their camp again, to our great mortification and distress. Thus we repeated the like action again and again, and were as often served in the same manner as above, till we were sufficiently convinced by woeful experience, that all proceedings of this nature would prove fruitless and ineffectual, so long as the King's forces continued in the neighbourhood.

Such are the effects of intestine broils, and civil commotions: Anarchy and confusion spread their baneful influence, and noxious vapours through the kingdom in general, and here in particular; when our lives and properties lie exposed, not only to our avowed enemies, but even to our perfidious friends, and inhuman neighbours; for this was verified day by day, some by force others by fraud; and thus our lives and fortunes lay exposed to the destroyer for some weeks; till at length the enemy's troops were called out of the neighbourhood, to the great joy and satisfaction of every honest mind.

Now affairs began to take a different turn, and look with another aspect; every thing seemed to turn into its proper channel; trade and occupation began again to revive, and the countenances of the inhabitants of the town and villages adjacent again resumed their wonted vivacity.

Thus have I given a full account of all that fell under my eye, or came within my knowledge of this distressing and unhappy affair.



J. Taylor, Del. Bolton.

An Exact Representation of the Execution of James Earl of Derby at Bolton 1651

M E M O I R S

JAMES EARL OF DERBY.

THE noble Lord whose various transactions in life are recorded in the following pages, was the eldest son of *William Earl of Derby*, and the seventh Earl of his family. He married *Charlotte* daughter of *Claud de la Trovers*, by *Charlotte* his wife, daughter to the renowned Count *William of Nassau Prince of Orange*, by his wife *Charlotte de Bourbon* of the royal house of *France*; by which marriage he stood related to the Kings of *France*, and to the Houses of *Bourbon*, *Mompessier*, *Conde*, *Dukes of Anjou*, *Kings of Naples and Sicily*, *Arch Duke of Austria*, *Kings of Spain*, *Earls and Dukes of Savoy*, *Dukes of Milan*, and to most of the sovereign Princes in Europe.

He was called to Parliament by writ from King *Charles I.* in the year 1627, being the third of his reign, by the stile and title of *Sir James Stanley*, Knight of the Bath, and *Chevaliere de Strange*, without any local place, and as such sat in the House of Peers several Parliaments, when his father sat there as Earl of *Derby*.

Sir William Dugdale says of this noble Peer, that setting aside the great state he lived in, and his wonderful hospitality and beneficence to his neighbours, friends and servants, he was a person

highly accomplished with learning, prudence, loyalty, and true valour; and was one, if not the first of the Peers that repaired to King Charles I. at York, when the seditious, insolent and rebellious Londoners had drove his Majesty from *Whitehall*; and though he did not usually follow the court, or design to advance his honour or family by a complimental and obsequious attendance of that kind; yet when he saw his Majesty's affairs required his assistance, he thought himself obliged both by his religion and allegiance to assist him to the utmost of his power, with his life and fortune; and made him a tender of both.

And although he observed the ministers of state about his Majesty looked coldly and shily upon him, as perhaps thinking him either too great or too popular, in their opinion, to be much favoured or employed in that critical juncture; yet his Lordship prudently concealed his sense thereof, and with the plainness and integrity of his loyal mind, offered himself ready to observe his Majesty's commands upon all occasions.

And in his own words tells us, that in the beginning of that war in 1643, he thought himself happy to have the general applause of his neighbouring gentlemen and yeomen, as they would choose to follow him as they had done his ancestors; but whether this was more to continue a custom, or the love of his name or person, was hard to say.

But this he knew, that he had raised three thousand good men who went with him out of *Lancashire*, to attend and serve his Majesty, and that he was extremely grieved to see the King in so bad a condition, which made him spare neither pains,

cost



cost nor hazard, to assist him in so just a quarrel; he lent the King all his arms, and his Majesty gave him his warrant to receive as many from *Newcastle*. But somebody was in the fault, his Majesty's warrant not being obeyed, nor he supplied with arms and ammunition as was expected; his Majesty also allowed and ordered him a sufficient sum of money for his service; but some of his servants about him thought fit to use it for other uses. "I shall not, says he, enter into particulars, but only say, that this might shew the King my good intention in the discharge of a good conscience, and the preservation of my honour, in spite of envy and malice."

The first considerable debate wherein he eminently shewed himself, was concerning the most convenient place for setting up the King's standard, *York*, *Chester*, *Nottingham*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Oxford*, being in proposition, his Lordship having heard the several reasons and opinions offered, and well weighed and considered the arguments for their support; at last, with a calm and quiet humility, interposed to the following effect: That with humble submission to his Majesty and his council, he conceived *Lancashire* to be a convenient place to erect his Majesty's standard in, and raise a considerable army; urging that it lay at the center of the northern counties, to which the loyal parties of *Yorkshire*, *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, *Cheshire*, *Shropshire*, *North-Wales*, and *Nottinghamshire*, might have ready and easy access; that he apprehended the inhabitants of that country both gentry and commons (at least for the greatest part) well inclined to his Majesty's just cause; that the people are usually very hardy, and make good

good soldiers, and that he himself (though the unworthiest of his Lieutenants) would to the utmost of his estate, contribute to his service; and that he durst promise three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to be furnished out at his own charge; that he made no doubt but in three days to enlist 7000 men more under his Majesty's pay, and to make up an army of 10,000 men in *Lancashire*, to which the accessions from other counties might in a short time arise to a considerable army; and that he hoped his Majesty would be able to march to *London* walls, before the rebels there could form an army to oppose him.

These things thus proposed, his Majesty and council took time to consider and resolve what to do on that momentous affair: and a few days after it was concluded, with much dissatisfaction to the party that favoured not his Lordship, that the standard should be set up at *Warrington*, in *Lancashire*, where his Majesty's army might have the convenience of both *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*, for the quartering of both horse and foot.

His Lordship upon this resolve was dispatched into *Lancashire*, to prepare for his Majesty's reception, and to dispose the country to be ready for his service; immediately on his return into *Lancashire*, he mustered the county in three places, on the heaths by *Bury*, by *Ormskirk*, and by *Pres-ton*, where at least twenty thousand men appeared to him in each field, most whereof were well armed with pike, musket, or other weapons, his Lordship intending to have done the same in *Cheshire*, and *North-Wales*, where he was Lieutenant, but these things which by his Lordship were really intended for his Majesty's service,

were

were by the envy, jealousy, or prejudice of some at court, insinuated to serve other purposes, suggesting that the Earl was a popular man; that he was no favourer of the court, but rather a malcontent, that those noised musters which he had made were pre-indications of his ambitious designs; that it was dangerous trusting him with great power in his hands, who too well knew his near alliance to the crown; that his ancestor the Lord *Stanley*, though he appeared with *Richard* III. and gave his son *George*, Lord *Strange*, a pledge of his loyalty, yet turned the battle against him, and put the crown upon the head of *Henry* VII. That his uncle *Ferdinand* had likewise boldly declared his pretensions to the crown, that his Lady was a Hugonot, bred up in the religion and principles of the Dutch, and that for these and other good reasons it was not safe for his Majesty to put himself too far into his hands, or trust him with too great a power. These invidious and injurious insinuations, notwithstanding the King's good inclinations towards him, so far prevailed and puzzled his council, that they persuaded the easy good-natured King to change his resolution, and to set up the royal standard at *Nottingham*, to divest the Earl of *Derby* of the Lieutenantancy of *Cheshire* and *Wales*, and to join the Lord *Rivers*, newly made an Earl, in commission with him in *Lancashire*. This sudden and unexpected turn in his Majesty's councils being signified to his Lordship from *York*, though at present it gave him some trouble and anxiety of mind, yet agreeable to his great temper, he quickly recovered himself, and with great equanimity spoke to this effect, "Let my master be happy though I be miserable;
and

and if they consult well for him I shall not be much concerned what becomes of me. My wife, my family, and country are very dear unto me, but if my prince and my religion be safe, I shall bless even my enemies who do well for them though in my ruin." Then with the advice of his friends, whose council he always used in cases of difficulty, he dispatched a gentleman to York with letters to the King, signifying that he had read the express of his Sovereign's good pleasure, as he ought to do with submission and due obedience, that though his enemies would not give him leave to serve his Sovereign, they should never so far provoke him as to desert him; that if he might not according to his birth and quality be permitted to fight for him, he would never draw his sword against him; that he did submissively resign the Lieutenancies of *Cheshire* and *North-Wales* to his Majesty's disposal, but besought him to take away that of *Lancashire* also, rather than subject him to the reprobach and suspicion of a partner in that government.

These letters being received and perused by the King and council, had only this effect, that the Lord *Rivers* was removed, and the Earl left in the single command of *Lancashire*. But the unkind impolitic usage of this noble Lord (though by him suffered with great resolution) was by the country, who had the greatest veneration for his family, highly resented, and proved of the greatest prejudice to the King's affairs, many gentlemen in the north, who were formerly well inclined to the King's cause, seeing the contempt and ill usage of the Earl of *Derby*, either sat still, or revolted to the Parliament with all their dependencies,

suspecting,

suspecting, as indeed it fell out, that the Earl of *Derby* being laid aside, the country would never follow any other commander, and that the King's interest would dwindle and soon be lost, and those divisions and disappointments his Lordship tells us made the ill-affected in *Lancashire* grow proud, and the meaner sort thought it a fine thing to set up against the great ones; and the Parliament being quickly advertised of the unhappy circumstances and management of the Kings affairs, immediately offered his Lordship what power and command he would accept in their service; which his Lordship rejected with scorn and indignation. Yet, the same bait took with many others that formerly had no inclination to the Puritannical faction; and *Ashton* of *Middleton*, *Holland* of *Heaton*, *Holcroft* of *Holcroft*, *Heywood* of *Heywood*, *Birch* of *Birch*, and several others, who supposing on this flight of the Earl of *Derby*, that the whole country would be at their devotion; took commissions from the Parliament, and with all speed garrisoned and fortified themselves in *Manchester*, the Parliament encouraging and assisting them with money and ammunition.

The royal standard being about this time set up at *Nottingham*, and the country not coming in as expected, the King now began to reflect on the ill usage of the Earl of *Derby*, and by an express under his own hand, desired him to raise what forces he could in *Lancashire*, and come with them to him; to this his Lordship answered, that the rebels had seized *Manchester*, that many of the country had joined them, and others had declared for a loose and undutiful neutrality; that the face of things was greatly altered by his

Majesty's march another way, and that he could not now flatter his Majesty with the access of such aids as he might have done a few months past; however notwithstanding all the discouragements he met with, he would use all his diligence to raise what forces he could for his Majesty's assistance, and for that purpose his Lordship issued out his warrants for an appearance of all his tenants and dependents, but durst not venture to make a general muster of the country, for fear of waking the late suspicions as yet scarce asleep; and of his own tenants and relations raised three regiments of foot, and three troops of horse, and cloathed them at his own charge, and armed them out of his own magazine; and when they were in readiness to march, his Lordship posted to the King then at *Shrewsbury* to receive his commands for their disposal. His Majesty guessing the dangerous consequences that might ensue by leaving a nursery of rebellion behind him at *Manchester*, ordered those forces to attack that place, and required the Earl then with his Majesty, to give directions to Colonel *Gilbert Gerrard*, an old soldier, to draw before the town. The Colonel obeyed his order, but the waters being then so swelled he found it difficult to fix commodious posts for his horse and foot, which occasioned some delay in the intended attack of the town; and therefore the Earl himself was by his Majesty's special command sent thither from *Shrewsbury*, to give a speedy onset, and whether he carried the town or not, to march up to the camp.

The Earl had not been four hours before the town ere he summoned them to submit to the King's clemency, and to give up the place upon honourable

honourable terms, but they with great obstinacy refused all offers of mercy; on which his Lordship gave orders for a storm upon the town, the next morning at four o'clock; but that very night about twelve his Lordship received letters from the King, intimating that the Earl of *Essex* was at the head of the rebels, and then on his march from *London* towards him with a formidable army; that he stood in need of those forces under his Lordship, and that if the town was not carried, he should not hazard any of them by an assault; that if he carried the battle against *Essex*, those small garrisons would fall of themselves; and that his Lordship should on the receipt of those letters forthwith advance to him with what forces he had.

Upon this though his Lordship made no doubt to have gained the place by an easy assault, and thought it would highly reflect upon his honour to quit it *reinfacto*, yet thought fit without dispute or delay to obey the King's commands, well knowing how his enemies at court would interpret any cross accident that might occur in any attempt contrary to the orders he had received; he therefore to the wonder and regret of all his officers and soldiers, gave direction for a speedy march by five o'clock in the morning, and in two days brought to the King three regiments of foot, and three troops of horse, well hoping that he might have commanded the troops raised at his own charge, as a brigade in his Majesty's service.

However his enemies, and probably no friends to the King, so far wrought upon his Majesty's too easy and credulous temper, by secret, unjust, and malicious whispers, that he took the command of those troops from the Earl, and disposed

of them to other officers; for which the King only gave him for his reason the cheap and specious pretence; that it was necessary his Lordship should attend his charge in *Lancashire* and the motions of the rebels there; therefore desired him to hasten back, and to do all in his power to prevent the growth and increase of their forces in that country.

This noble Lord though a person of great temper, yet of as great a spirit, was so ruffled at this unkind usage, that he was scarce able to contain himself; but in a little time recovering from his great surprise and concern, replied to his Sovereign, "Sir, if I have deserved this indignity, I deserve also to be hanged; if not, my honour and quality command me to beg your justice against those persons, who in this insolent manner abuse both me and your Majesty, and if any man living (your Majesty excepted) shall dare to fix the least accusation upon me that may tend to your disservice, I hope you will give me leave to pick the calumny from his lips with the point of my sword."

The King with a smooth countenance, appeared to entertain no displeasure against his Lordship, but said, my Lord, my affairs are troubled, the rebels are marching against me, and it is not now a time to quarrel amongst ourselves; have a little patience and I will do you right. Though his Lordship did with all moderation contain himself, and used all his endeavours to cover the dissatisfaction he was under on the manifest dishonour done him on this occasion; yet the matter could not be so privately carried on, but it was soon spread through the whole court and army; his
Lordship's

Lordship's friends spoke plainly out, and his soldiers refused to march or serve under any other commander but his Lordship, who by his wisdom and temper, composed the minds of his friends, and prevailed upon his soldiers to give obedience to their officers.

The rebels in *Lancashire* were not ignorant how things passed at court, and thought it was now a proper time to re-attempt his Lordship with fresh offers of power and command; and to this purpose procured a new express from the Parliament to his Lordship, with fresh offers, importing, "That he could not but be very sensible of the indignity put upon him at court by the King's evil counsellors; that those enemies were the enemies of the nation; that they struck at religion and all good men, and would permit none but papists or people popishly affected to be near his Majesty; that it was the whole intent of the Parliament to remove men of such desperate, and pernicious principles from his person, and to secure the true protestant religion; that if his Lordship would engage in that good cause, he should have command equal to his own greatness, or any of his ancestors."

The purport of these letters, raised a greater indignation in his Lordship, than all the slights and indignities he had received at court; whereupon he vouchsafed them no other answer than that he gave the Colonel who brought the message, "Pray tell the gentlemen at *Manchester*, and let them tell the gentlemen at *London*, when they hear I turn traitor, I shall hearken to their propositions, till then, if I receive any other papers of this nature, it shall be at the peril of him that brings them."

The

The rebels in *Lancashire* had by this time gar-
 rifoned *Lancaster* and *Preston*, and in a manner
 commanded all the country; and his Lordship
 having divested himself of his arms and maga-
 zines, was not in a condition to make much re-
 sistance against them; yet he used all diligence
 to fortify his own house at *Latham*, and secretly
 got in men, horse, and ammunition, and had in a
 month's time raised a good troop of horse, and
 two companies of foot, and being advertised that
 three Captains of foot with their companies were
 advanced to *Houghton* Common, within six miles
 of *Latham*, his Lordship with what forces he had
 marched out against them, and after half an
 hour's fight, defeated and took all the three Cap-
 tains prisoners, (one whereof was *Venables*, who
 was afterwards employed by *Oliver*, against *His-
 paniola*.) By this defeat so unexpectedly given to
 that party, he made himself master of all their
 arms, and struck such terror in the country as
 gave his Lordship fresh reputation, insomuch that
 good store of horse and foot came daily to him;
 and he began thereby to confine the enemy to
 their garrison.

About this time Lord *Molyneux* coming to *Lan-
 cashire* to recruit his regiment, much shattered at
Edge-Hill and *Brainford* fight, Lord *Derby* applied
 to him for assistance with his forces to take in the
 garrisons which so much annoyed the country and
 impeded his Majesty's service, to which Lord *Mo-
 lyneux* agreed, and with their joint forces marched
 from *Latham-House* in the dark of the evening to
Lancaster, without halting, being about thirty
 miles, and appeared before the town at break
 of day, and summoned the garrison to surrender,
 who

who refusing to comply, the town was immediately stormed and taken at the second assault, which the soldiers were a little backward to engage in, which the Earl perceiving, took a half pike in his hand, and called out to them "Follow me;" on which some gentlemen volunteers joined him, and all the soldiers cheerfully followed and entered the town, in which twenty soldiers were wounded, and that gallant, loyal, and worthy gentleman, *Blundell of Crosby*, had his thigh shattered by a musket-ball.

Upon this his Lordship having demolished the works, and refreshed his men three days, began his march the third evening to *Preston*, where arriving early next morning, he sent a summons to the mayor to surrender the town to the King's use; who refusing to obey the summons, the Earl gave orders to assault the works in three places, by Capt. *Chisenhall*, Capt. *Radcliff*, and Capt. *Edward Rowsthorpe*. Capt. *Chisenhall* entered first, and being supported by the reserve, the town after about an hour's fight was subdued, and about 600 of the enemy killed, and the rest made prisoners, except some who escaped by the way of the river which was fordable. Then his Lordship having demolished the works of this town also, and judging that an useless garrison was not only a loss to the King, but a plague to the country by pillaging and oppressing them; after refreshing his soldiers four or five days, called a council of war, at which he proposed a march to *Manchester*, then the chiefest garrison the rebels had in the country, urging that now the enemy were under great consternation, and the works of the town inconsiderable to resolved men; that there was a great party

party in the place well affected to the King's cause; and that he was advertised that on appearance of the King's forces they would shew themselves.

Therefore if it pleased the Lord *Molyneux*, and the other commanders, (by whose assistance the late happy actions were atchieved) to march with him to *Manchester*, he would either reduce the town or lay his bones before it.

This proposal met with some opposition, but after a short debate it was carried for a march, and the army advanced that night as far as *Charley*, but before two o'clock in the morning, Lord *Molyneux* was by the King's command, called up to *Oxford*, with his regiment, Lord *Derby* with much importunity intreated his stay but for four days, that he might attempt something on *Manchester*, which the Lord *Molyneux* and the other officers with him flatly refused, and besides produced their commissions to make up their regiment and broken companies out of the forces newly raised by the Earl of *Derby*.

No doubt but this usage must be very shocking to that great Lord, who being not only deserted by his auxiliaries, but deprived of his own forces, was left alone to secure himself by a retreat to his house at *Latham*: at which his and the King's enemies taking new courage, united all their scattered forces into one body, and assembled at *Wigan*, a town newly garrisoned by his Lordship, and trusted to the command of Major-General *Blair*, a Scotch gentleman recommended to him by the King; which town they took and plundered to the very utensils and plate of the communion table, which one of their puritanical teachers, one *Tyldesley*, hung round him as the spoils and plunder of a popish idol.

All

All those discouragements, sufficient to have sunk the spirits, and shaken the loyalty of the most affectionate and dutiful Subject in the world, served only to excite his great and loyal mind, how to retrieve all past misfortunes.

Thus whilst his Lordship was engaged in new contrivances to advance his Majesty's service, he received an express from the King, importing that his enemies had formed some projects to seize the *Isle of Man*; that they had a party in the Island in confederacy with them and without speedy care, it was in danger of being lost; then thanked him for his many good services in *England*, and besought him to hasten speedily thither, for the security of that place.

Upon his Lordship's perusal of these dispatches, he spoke to his Lady with more than ordinary quickness and concern, saying, "My heart, my enemies have now their will, having prevailed with his Majesty to order me to the *Isle of Man*, as a softer banishment from his presence, and their malice."

His Lordship who always knew how to obey but never to dispute the King's commands, was upon this occasion under inexpressible grief and confusion of mind, being as it were at a loss and struggle of thoughts, how and in what manner to conduct himself in so critical a juncture, with regard to his Majesty's commands, and the service he was capable of doing for him in *England*; reasoning with himself in the following manner, and saying, "I that have with the few that durst take my part, hitherto kept the greatest part of *Lancashire* in subjection to his Majesty, in spite of his enemies, must now abandon my family, friends,

and country's safety, to the malice of a wicked multitude, without either mercy or compassion."

But (as his Lordship's Memoirs go on) it being now known that the Queen was at *York* with great forces, I was advised and requested by the loyal gentlemen then with me, to go to her Majesty and represent to her our distressed state, and the necessity of giving us speedy help and relief, which I complied with, and leaving the few forces I had in *Lancashire*, under command of Lord *Molyneux*, of which I have a long story of great trouble I had with them, as well as the enemy.

In my absence the enemy possessed themselves of the whole country, saving my house, and Sir *John Girdlington's*, and a misfortune happening at *Wakefield*, prevented the Queen's sending part of the forces with her to our assistance, and the *Lancashire* troops yet remaining, taking a march towards *York*, in hopes of meeting me there, were disappointed, which verified the old proverb,—"Ill fortune seldom comes alone."

For at that time a report was spread that some Scots intending to assist the Parliament would land in the North, and in their way endeavour to take the *Isle of Man*, which might prove of ill consequence to the King's affairs, to which I gave not much heed, but continued my desire to wait on the Queen to *Oxford*, (where the King then was) and during my stay there I wrote the following letter to my son *Charles*, Lord *Strange*, and had enlarged but was suddenly called away, viz.

"That I had received letters from the *Isle of Man*, intimating the great danger of a revolt there; for that many people following the example of *England*, began by murmuring and complaining

plaining against the Government, and from some seditious and wicked spirits had learned the same lesson with the Londoners, to come to court in a tumultuous manner, demanding new laws, and a change of the old; that they would have no bishops, pay no tithes to the clergy, despised authority, and rescued some who had been committed by the Governor for insolence and contempt. It was also reported that a ship of war which I had there for a defence of the Island, was taken by the Parliament's ships, (which proved true) and that it was judged by the Queen and those with her (as Lord Goring, Lord Digby, Lord Jermin, Sir Edward Deering, and many more) that I should forthwith go to the Island, to prevent the impending mischief in time, as well for the King's service, as the preservation of my own inheritance."

Thus far I have digressed to take of that objection often asked, that when every gallant spirit had engaged himself for the King and country why I left the nation, deserted the King's service and cause, and became a neuter, with many such like invidious and malicious suggestions to my prejudice, but I bless God I am fully satisfied with my own conduct and integrity of heart, well remembering all those circumstances, as well as the wicked insinuations of my implacable and restless enemies. How others may be satisfied herewith I know not, but think this short relation, for want of time to set things in a fuller light, may rather puzzle the minds of the readers, if any should chance to see it but yourself, but you my son, are bound to believe well of your father, and I to be thankful to Almighty God, that you so well un-

derstand yourself and me; as for others, I am unconcerned whether they understand me or not.

Upon the above advice by the Queen and friends, I returned to *Latham*, and having secretly made what provisions I possible could, of men, money, and ammunition, for the defence and protection of my wife and children, against the insolence and affronts of the enemy, prepared for my speedy voyage to the *Isle of Man*, taking with me such men and materials as might answer those purposes I was sent about.

Leaving my house and children, and all my concerns in *England* to the care of my wife, a person of virtue and honour; equal to her high birth and quality, who being now left alone, a woman, a stranger in the country, (and as the enemy thought) without friends, provisions, or ammunition, for defence or resistance, concluded that *Latham-House* would fall an easy prey to them, to which purpose they procured a commission from the Parliament to reduce it by treaty or force.

But before I proceed to acquaint the world with the conduct and bravery of this most heroic and noble Lady, in defence of herself family and friends, give me leave to attend her husband, the puissant Earl of *Derby*, to his principality of *Mann*, and relate from his own Memoirs, the state he found that place in, with his conduct and management thereof, and his observations of that island and people, also his instructions, by letters from thence to his son the Lord *Strange*, advising and instructing him in the government of that island when it should descend to him, with the conduct and management of himself and family, in the course of his life.

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My coming to the *Ile of Man* proved in good time, for it was believed by most, that a few days longer absence would have ended the happy peace that the island had so long enjoyed. When the people knew of my coming they were much affected with it, as all new things usually do the common sort, but this good I found, that my Lieutenant, Capt. *Greenhalgh*, had wisely managed the business by patience, and good conduct, and observing the general disorder, had considered the people were to be won as you tame wild beasts, by scratching and stroking, and not by violent wrestling, lest they should turn upon you and know their strength; and who so powerful a prince, if a multitude rise against him, being alone or with a few, can well be able to resist them; As it is not therefore good that the common people know their own strength; so it is safest to keep them ignorant of what they may do, but rather give them daily occasion to admire the clemency of their Lord; and this to be done as often as he exerciseth justice and mercy; the one without too much rigour; (but still according to the laws) and the other with softness upon fit objects, and those to make his own act; for every act of grace, or whatever is good or pleasing, must come immediately from himself, and never let it be known that any particular person hath power or occasion to persuade you to do what is good and just; and if you be jealous that they would think such an one your adviser, be sure some time to deny that man some thing, that notice may be taken of it; and shew the world that reason and justice is the rule you are governed by; but if in any thing you are obliged to be harsh,

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of that let another bear a share, and when you deny, or afflict, let another's mouth pronounce it.

The Captain before my coming had imprisoned some sauey fellow, in the face of the rabble, who cryed aloud that they would all fare as that man did; which he warily seemed not to fear, and only threatened to lay every man by the heels that continued to behave in that sauey manner he had done; well knowing that if he punished him at that time, the rest would have rescued him, which would have let them see their own power, and how little his staff of office could annoy or hurt them. He then adjourned the court for that time, and wished them for the future to put their complaints in writing, and with good words promised to redress all their just grievances; and for that purpose would send over to me, without whom he told them no law could be changed; with which they were well pleased, and so departed.

Here you may observe the benefit of a good Governor; and indeed of any servant in any office of trust; for the first judgment we make of a great man's understanding is in the choice of his servants and followers; for if they be good and faithful, then he is reputed a wise man, as having knowledge to discern, and for want of this caution and care, many great families in *England* are ruined.

The Earl of *Derby's* character of Capt. *Greenbalgh*, and his reasons for his choice of him for Governor.

“First that he was a gentleman well born and such usually scorn a base action: Secondly, That
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he has a good estate of his own, and therefore need not borrow of another, which hath been a fault in this country; for when Governors have wanted, and been forced to be beholding to those who may be the greatest offenders against the Lord and country, in such case the borrower becomes servant to the lender, to the stoppage, if not the perversion of Justice; next he was a deputy lieutenant and justice of the peace for his own country; he governed his own affairs well, and therefore was the more likely to do mine so; he hath been approved prudent and valiant, and as such fitter to be trusted; in fine he is such that I thank God for him, and charge you to love him as a friend."

When the people are bent on mischief it is folly rashly to oppose them without sufficient power and force, neither is it discretion to yield to them too much; for reason will never persuade a senseless multitude; but keeping your gravity and state, comply with them seemingly, and rather defer the matter to another time, with assurance that you will forward their own desires, by which you may gain time as if convinced by their reasons and not the fear of any danger from them; and by the next meeting you may have have taken off some of their leading champions, and either by good words or fair promises softened them to your own will; remembering that tumults are easier allayed by daring and undaunted men, than by wiser ones; for commonly the people more esteem the breast than the brain, and are much sooner compelled than persuaded.

It is fit to have charity for all men, and think them honest; but as it is certain that the greater
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part of men are bad, I may fear that few are good; the sure way for a right knowledge of this I took to be, by appointing a meeting in the heart of the country, which I did, and there wished every man to tell his grievances freely, and I would hear all complaints, and give them the best remedy I could; by which I thought those who had entered into any evil designs against me or the country, might have time to find some excuses for themselves and lay the blame and charge upon others.

And thus I chose rather to give them hopes and prevent their falling into violent courses before I could be provided for them; and indeed I feared so many of them were engaged by oath and covenant, after the new way of *Scotland*, that it would not be easy to make them sensible of their error: nevertheless matters were not so ripe as I could have wished, and it was not amiss to address myself even to the chief actors in this business, telling them somebody was to blame; that I apprehended the people were misled, and that it would be an acceptable service in those who could bring them off it, and that if the common sort could be persuaded of their mistake, it would hinder any further inquiry into the business; upon which some did really confess their faults, and discover to me the whole design, by which I made one good step; by dividing the faction, upon this each Parish gave me a petition of their grievances, and I gave them good words, promising to take the same into consideration; upon which they appeared easy and departed: After this I appointed another meeting at *Peel Castle*, where I expected some wrangling, and met with it; but I had provided for my own safety, and if occasion were, to curb the rest; for

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in such cases 'tis good to be assured, of which notice being taken you will have much better dealing with them; otherwise the old saying is very true, "That he that is not sure to win is sure to lose." A number of busy bodies spoke *Manx* only; which some officiously said, should be commanded to hold their peace, which I was unwilling to; for I came prepared to give them liberty of speech, knowing by good experience that those people were their mother's children, loving to speak much; and should be dealt with like prattling women or a barking cur at your horse's heels, give them liberty to put themselves out of breath and they'll be sooner quiet, and will be more content if you deny them after much speaking, than if you prevent it.

It is good in all business where you must appear in public (where you are as all great men are, like a candle upon a mountain) to appear in such a manner as may gain you respect and praise of the people; and so fit that all may look upon you: I resolved to give them liberty of speaking in their own way, (for to reason with them was in vain) provided they crossed not my motions which I was careful might be just and lawful.

And to bring my designs to pass, I had spies amongst the busy bodies, who after they had sufficiently spoke ill of my office, began to speak well of me, and of my good intent to them to give them all satisfaction in their just grievances; that they were assured I did love the people, and that if any were so unreasonable to provoke me they would run a great hazard; that I had power to maintain my actions, and there was no appeal.

When I took occasion above to commend the

worth of the present Governor, I did it as a rule to you in the choice of your counsellors ; and remember this benefit by council, that all good success will be your glory, and all evil your excuse, having followed the advice of others, your counsellors are not likely to be better than yourself; but if they were, know this, that to ask council of one's betters tieth to performance; otherwise to ask council is to honour him of whom it is required, and you at liberty to do as you please.

While I was here I became acquainted with one Capt. *Christian*, who I observed had abilities sufficient to do me service; and being recommended to me by a friend, I enquired more of him and was told he was a *Manx* man born, and had made himself a good fortune in the *Indies*; and he offered himself on these terms; that being resolved to retire into his own country, whether he had the place of power or no, he would be content to hold the staff of government until I made choice of another, and would then willingly resign, and as for the pay, he valued that so little, that he would do the service without any, or what pleased me.

He was an excellent companion, and as rude as a sea Captain should be, but something more refined and civilized by serving the Duke of *Buckingham* about a year at court: Thus far I cannot much blame myself, but think if I had a jewel of value I prized it at too high a rate, which he knew very well and made use thereof to his own ends, therein abusing me and presuming of my support in all his actions, which from time to time he gilded over with such fair pretences, that I believed and trusted him too much. Also I gave too little heed to complaints against him which

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was my fault, for which I have been whipped, and will do so no more: While he governed for some years he pleased me very well, and had the quality of the best of servants, for whatever I bid him do he would perform, and if it succeeded ill, would take it upon himself, but if well, would give me the glory of it. This he did while I continued my favours to him, the denial of which would have been as ungrateful as unwise in me, if I should not thereby have obliged him to me as the only means to keep him good.

But such is the nature and condition of men, that most have one failing or other to sully their best actions, and his was that condition which is ever found with drunkenness, viz. avarice, which is observed to grow in men with their years.

He was ever forward in making many requests, which while they were fit for me to grant I did not deny; but indeed a good servant would rather be prevented by his Lord's generosity, than demand any thing of himself; and chuse to be enriched, as if enforced, rather than pretend to it, and ascribe the benefit to the honour of his office, and not to merit.

But I observed the more I gave the more he asked, and such things as I could not grant without much prejudice to myself and others; so after a while I did sometime refuse him, on which it was sure to fall out, according to the old observation, "That when a prince hath given all, and the favourite can well desire no more, then both grow weary of one another;" ill servants like ill diseases are easily cured when known, but are dangerous if undiscovered.

Thus far having attended the noble Lord *Der-*

by, to his Principality of *Mann*, and related his transactions there, with the great confusion, disorder, and sedition he found the people in on his first coming thither; and also observed his great prudence, judgment, and temper in calming their passions, healing their seditions, and reconciling them in duty to their king, in obedience to himself, and in friendship and unity with one another: Let us therefore for a while leave him in peace, and the good esteem of his subjects, and return to the great and noble Lady *Derby*, and her children, at *Latham-house*, and enquire of their welfare during his absence; whom he had left upon the very brink of danger, and for ought he knew utter destruction.

We have already informed the reader, that before his Lordship left *England*, he had been advertised that the rebels had got a commission from the Parliament to reduce *Latham-House*, by treaty or force, which induced him to make all possible provision of men, money, and ammunition, for the support and defence of his noble family and their friends, who had kindly offered their best assistance; of which the great Lady *Derby* being informed, and also of the malicious designs and evil intentions of the enemy against her, used all diligence to get into the house more men, arms, and provisions, and to keep it at least so long as to procure honourable terms to quit it; but this was done by her with all possible speed, privacy, and caution, that the enemy might not alledge her gathering forces as an act of public hostility, and therefore hasten their approach, before her levies were got in readiness.

A true

A true and genuine account of the famous and memorable Siege of

LATHAM HOUSE

Begun the 28th of February, and carried on by the Parliament army till the 27th of May, 1644.

COLONEL *Ashton* of *Middleton*, Colonel *Egerton* of *Shaw*, Colonel *Holcroft* of *Holcroft*, and Colonel *Rigby*, with their regiments, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* from *Yorkshire* with his troops, was called to their assistance, to besiege or take by storm (for ought they knew) an unarmed Lady in her own house: But that which the heroic Lady most feared was, that they intended a sudden assault, which she collected from the multitude of their forces then in view; and that her own men being but raw and unexperienced, would be therefore terrified, and not make a worthy resistance.

She therefore caused her men to be listed under six captains, whom for their courage and integrity, she chose out of the gentlemen that were in the house to her assistance, viz. Capt. *Farrington* of *Werden*, Capt. *Charnock* of *Gharnock*, Capt. *Chiffenball* of *Chiffenball*, Capt. *Rosthern* of *New-Hall*, Capt. *Ogle* of *Prescot*, and Capt. *Molineux Radcliffe*: These she desired to train, instruct, and encourage her men, being yet unskilful and unfit for service.

These Captains received all their orders from Capt. *Farmer*, whom her Ladyship had made Major of the house; and he received his orders from her Ladyship: He was by nation a *Scotchman*, very skillful

skillful in the art of war, having been long in the school of *Mars*, in the *Low-Countries*; a man of true courage and approved conduct. This worthy gentleman had the misfortune to be afterwards slain in the battle of *Marston-Moor*, serving there under Colonel *Chiffenhall*.

This martial and heroic Lady commanded all the affairs of the house to be managed with the greatest privacy, and permitted none to go out of the gates, but those she could trust and rely upon, both for prudence and loyalty; the rest were so concealed that when the enemy drew near to *Latham-House*, they dreamed of no other resistance but from her own servants.

In the interim the officers of the enemy being advanced to *Ormskirk*, two miles from *Latham*: Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, as commander in chief, sent on the 28th of February, 1644, a trumpet and a gentleman of quality with him, to demand a friendly conference with the Lady *Derby*, to prevent if it might be all the mischief that would ensue by a misunderstanding and breach betwixt her Ladyship and him, to this her Ladyship consented. Whereupon Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and some gentlemen with him, immediately came from *Ormskirk* to *Latham*, and were admitted to her Ladyship; but in the mean time by the advice of Major *Farmer*, to prevent a surprise or sudden assault, her Ladyship caused all her soldiers to be placed in very good order, under their respective officers, from the main guard in the first court, down to the great hall, where her Ladyship had ordered Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be received, and had placed all the rest of her men in open fight upon the walls and the tops of the towers, in such manner

manner that they might appear to be both numerous and well-disciplined; in hopes that this unexpected appearance of so much strength within, might give some terror to the enemy without, as she feared their great number might somewhat discourage her new raised soldiers.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the gentlemen with him being arrived at the house, were admitted and received by her Ladyship with the greatest civility: when after a short respite, Sir *Thomas* acquainted her Ladyship, that they were commanded by the Parliament to reduce that house to their obedience, and that they were commissioned to offer to her Ladyship an honourable and safe removal with her children, servants, and all her goods, (arms and cannon only excepted) to her Lord's house at *Knowsley*; and that she should enjoy one moiety of her Lord's estate in all places in *England*, for the support of herself and children.

To this her Ladyship answered, that she was there left under a double trust, one of loyalty and faith to her husband, the other of allegiance and duty to her sovereign; that 'till she had obtained their consent, she could not give up that house without manifest disloyalty and breach of trust to them both, therefore desired only one month's time to know their pleasure therein; and then if she obtained their consent, she would quietly yield up the house; if not, she hoped they would excuse her if she endeavoured to preserve her honour and obedience, though in her own ruin.

To this Sir *Thomas Fairfax* replied, that it exceeded their commission to give her Ladyship any further respite for consideration than one day, and so departed, observing in his recess from the house,
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the situation and strength of it, and the order and regular disposal of the soldiers; as perhaps either conceiving the number of her soldiers to be greater than they were, or suspecting the resolution and courage of the common soldiers of his own party, or else as being a person of greater honour and generosity than his confederates, judged it ignoble and unmanly to assault a lady of her high birth and quality in her own house, without any other provocation than keeping her Lord's house, by his command; a Lady that had left her country and kindred for the enjoyment of the protestant religion.

And agreeably thereto, at the first council of war after their return from the said conference, he declared himself against a present storm, (urged by some) and advised a regular siege, which advice was greatly advanced by a circumstance that occurred during the time of the conference or treaty with the Lady; a Captain of the Parliament party then before the house, observing one of her Ladyship's chaplains, whom the Earl had left with her as a person well able to assist her with his council, and would be faithful to her in all her concerns; and who had received their education together, and were not only well acquainted, but intimate and familiar with each other; at the close of the before-mentioned party with the Lady, the Captain getting an opportunity of free discourse with the said chaplain, attempted by direction from the commander of that party, to gain from him the secrets of that council, by which the Lady had resolved to keep the house, and conjured him by virtue of their ancient friendship, to tell him truly upon what confidence she proceeded to reject the
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offers made her by the Parliament, and think to defend her house against so great a strength as was then before it encamped in the park.

To this the Chaplain deriving on the same design with his lady; to avert a sudden assault, answered; that upon a firm promise of secrecy, he would acquaint the Captain with the truth and mystery of that council, viz. "That the Lady had but little provision of victuals in the house, that she was oppressed with the number of her soldiers, that she would not be able to subsist above 14 days for want of bread to supply them, that she hoped they would give a sudden onset to the house, not from the multitude and courage of her soldiers to give them a repulse, nor upon her own strength to discourage the enemy to raise the siege; but in case they should continue a siege, she must inevitably be forced to surrender the place."

The Captain, as the Chaplain imagined he would, as soon as he came to the council, imparted the conference with the Chaplain, as the grand secret of the Lady and her captains; to which Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Colonels with him giving credit, laid aside all thoughts of a sudden force, and resolved on a close and formal siege.

Fourteen days being expired, Sir *Thomas* sent a summons by a trumpet to the Lady to surrender the house immediately, supposing upon the infallible advice of the Chaplain that her provisions were then all spent; but by this time her soldiers were well hardened, the walls well lined, the cannon well fitted, and the Lady resolved to make a brave defence, and set the enemy at defiance. And therefore by the trumpet returned the following

answer, to wit, "That as she had not lost her regard for the church of *England*, nor her allegiance to her prince, nor her faith to her Lord, she could not therefore as yet give up that house; that they must never hope to gain it, 'till she had either lost all these or her life in defence of them."

Whereupon Sir *Thomas Fairfax* seeing the Lady's resolution for a vigorous resistance, and that the Chaplain had only abused the credulity of the confident Captain, left Colonel *Egerton*, commander in chief, and with him Major *Morgan*, as Engineer, to manage the siege; himself with his own troops being commanded by the Parliament to other service.

Latham-House stands on a flat, upon a moorish, springy ground, was encompassed with a strong wall two yards thick; upon the walls were nine towers flanking each other, and in every tower were six pieces of ordnance, that played three one way and three the other: Without the wall was a mote eight yards wide, and two yards deep, upon the back of the mote between the wall and the graff was a strong wall of palisadoes around; besides all these there was a high strong tower called the *Eagle Tower*, in the midst of the house, surmounting all the rest, and the gate house was also two high and strong buildings, with a strong tower on each side of it; and in the entrance to the first court, upon the tops of these towers were placed the best and choicest marksmen, who usually attended the Earl in his hunting and other sports, as huntsmen, keepers, fowlers, and the like; who continually kept watch with scrued guns, and long fowling pieces upon those towers, to the great loss and annoyance of the enemy, especially

especially of their commanders, who were frequently killed in their trenches, or as they came or went to or from them; besides all that is said hitherto of the walls, tower, and mote, &c. there is something so particular and romantic in the general situation of this house, as if nature herself had formed it for a strong hold or place of security; for before the south and south-west, is a rising ground so near it as to overlook the top of it, from which it falls so quick that nothing planted against it on those sides can touch it further than the front wall; and on the north and east sides, there is another rising ground, even to the edge of the mote, and then falls away so quick, that you can scarce at the distance of a carbine shot see the house over that height, so that all batteries placed there are so far below it as to be of little service against it; (of which more hereafter) only let us observe by the way, that the uncommon situation of it may be compared to the palm of a man's hand, flat in the middle, and covered with a rising round about it, and so near to it, that the enemy in two years were never able to raise a battery against it so as to make a breach in the wall practicable to enter the house by way of storm: Now let us see how the enemy proceeded in the attack of it, after the departure of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*.

Colonel *Egerton*, pushed on by the inveterate malice and spite of Colonel *Rigby*, gave orders for drawing a line of circumvallation round about the house; which being observed by the Lady and her officers, they resolved to give them some disturbance in their first approaches, and in a council agreed to make a sally upon them with

200 men under the command of Major *Farmer*, which was carried on with so much bravery and resolution, that they beat the enemy from all their trenches, and pursued them to their main guard, and even as far as prudence and good conduct would permit, without hazard of being intercepted in their retreat by the enemy's horse.

This sally was made the 12th of March, 1644, wherein were killed about sixty of the enemy, and near as many more made prisoners, with the loss of only two men. After this smart attack by the besieged, the enemy doubled all their guards, and drew new lines about the house at a greater distance, (as one effect of the situation above described) called in all the country, and made the poor men work in the trenches, where great numbers of them were slain by the frequent sallies from the house.

In about five weeks they finished their new line, and then run a deep trench near to the mote, and there raised a very strong battery, whereon they placed a large mortar-piece, (sent them from *London*) from which they cast about fifty stones of fifteen inches diameter into the house; as also grenadoes of the same size, alias bomb-shells, the first of which falling near the place where the Lady and her children with all the commanders were seated at dinner, shivered all the room but hurt no body.

The lady and her commanders observing the soldiers something terrified with the frequent shooting of those unusual and destructive fire balls, resolved at a council of war to make a strong sally, and attempt the taking of that mortar-piece.

Besides which the enemy had twenty-nine short
cannon,

cannon, and five longer for grenadoes; with several other cannon, from which they fired upon the house many days, but particularly on the 12th of April a cannon ball came through the lady's chamber window, but did little damage, upon this the sally above resolved on, was put into execution: The van was commanded by that brave and loyal gentlemen Capt. *Molineux Radcliffe*: The main body by Captain *Chisenhall*, and the reserve by Major *Farmer*; and in this order they assaulted the enemy's trenches with so much bravery, that after an hour's sharp dispute, they made themselves masters of all their works, nailed up and overturned all their cannon, and those they found upon carriages they rolled into the mote, and brought the mortar piece into the house; and continued masters of the enemy's works and trenches all that day, and with the utmost pains and diligence endeavoured to destroy and render useless every one of them,

During all this sharp and bloody fight, the heroic and most undaunted Lady Governess was without the gates and sometimes near the trenches, encouraging her brave soldiers with her presence; and as she constantly began all her undertakings with prayers in her chapel, so she closed them with thanksgiving, and truly it was hard to say whether she was more eminent for courage, prudence, and steady resolution; or justice, piety, and religion: And I think we may justly infer, that the good Providence of Almighty God watchfully protected her from the evil designs and wicked machinations of her incensed and inveterate enemies, who as the prisoners informed us, had about the time of our successful sally, projected to scale the walls
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on every side of the house with their whole army at one time, and to destroy the Countess of *Derby*, and all that belonged to her.

The enemy having rallied their soldiers, repossessed themselves the night following of their trenches, and for five or six days wrought with all their forces to repair the breaches that had been made, in which, notwithstanding they were three times dislodged and scattered, by vigorous sallies from the house.

Colonel *Rigby*, in the mean time, taking occasion from the late defeat, accused Colonel *Egerton* of neglect and indolence in carrying on the siege, and got commission from the Parliament to be commander in chief; and to give him his due, though a rebel, was neither wanting in care or diligence to distress the house: He denied a pass to three sick gentlemen to go out of the house, and would not suffer a midwife to go into the house to a gentlewoman in travail, nor a little milk for the support of young infants, but was every way severe and rude, beyond the barbarity of a Turkish general. For a fortnight together he was permitted to carry on his works without much disturbance, the house being in want of powder to make frequent sallies. But that defect being supplied by what they got in a sally, the Lady proposed to the council of war to make a fresh assault upon all their trenches, which being agreed upon, Capt. *Edward Rostern* had the van, Capt. *Farmer* the main body, and Capt. *Chiffenball* the reserve; these gentlemen behaved with their usual courage and resolution, beat the enemy from all their works, cleared the trenches, and nailed up all their cannon, in which service they flew 120 of the

the enemy, with the loss only of three soldiers, and five or six wounded.

The enemy having lain four months before the house, in which time by the confession of prisoners taken in the several sallies, they had lost above two thousand men; Colonel *Rigby* sent the Lady a summons of another nature than those formerly sent by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* or Colonel *Egerton*, to wit, "That he required the Lady would forthwith deliver up the house to the service of the Parliament; that there was no hope of any relief from the King's forces, which were then in so low and desperate condition, and that if she refused to deliver it up, upon that summons, she must hereafter expect the utmost severity of war."

Her Ladyship having communicated this summons to the council of war, did with their unanimous consents return by the trumpet who brought it, (for she refused to give any answer in writing) "Trumpet, said she, tell that insolent rebel *Rigby*, that if he presumes to send any other summons to this place, I will hang up the messenger at the gates."

The Earl of *Derby* being at that time in the *Isle of Man*, and alarmed with the distress of his Lady and children, well knowing her great and noble mind, that she would rather chuse to perish than give up herself and them to *Rigby's* mercy and disposal, hastened from the island with all possible quickness, and with the utmost speed, implored his Majesty's favour for the relief of his Lady and distressed children; his highness Prince *Rupert* having at that time happily gained a victory over the rebels at *Newark*, his Majesty gave way

way that he should march through *Lancashire* to the relief of *York*, then besieged by the enemy, and to quicken his Highness in his march, the Earl of *Derby* gave his soldiers a largess, or caress of three thousand pounds, which he had raised upon his Lady's jewels, conveyed to him out of *Latham House* by a sally.

His Highness Prince *Rupert* entered *Lancashire* at *Stockport* bridge, where he defeated a party of the enemy commanded by Colonel *Duckenfield*, and some sent from *Manchester* to guard that pass: *Rigby* now hearing that the Prince had entered the country, and fearing a visit from him, thought proper on the 27th of May, 1644, to raise the siege of *Latham House*, and march with all his strength, being about 2000 men, to *Bolton*, a garrison of the enemy's; which with the forces he found there, and some access from other places made up an army of 3000, to wit, 2500 foot, and 500 horse; with these he resolved to give defiance to the Prince; having there the advantage of high and strong mud walls, with which and a large ditch under them, the enemy had many months before environed that town.



AN ACCOUNT OF
THE SIEGE AND TAKING OF
B O L T O N,

On the 28th of May, 1644, by his Highness Prince ROBERT,
Chief Commander of the Army of his Uncle CHARLES I.

THE Prince being advertised that the siege of *Latham-House* was raised, and that *Rigby* the late besieger thereof with his army was fortified in *Bolton*, resolved to do all that lay in his power to avenge the affronts and abuses put upon and suffered by the brave and most noble Lady *Derby*, to whom he knew himself nearly allied by consanguinity of blood; therefore waving their garrison of *Manchester*, he hastened to *Bolton*, which being but of a small circuit, and defended with three thousand men, his Highness rightly judged would make a vigorous resistance; however having called a council of war, ordered his post, and prepared for a storm, he gave directions for the assault, which was performed with much gallantry and resolution by his men; but being greatly annoyed from the wall by the enemy's cannon, and the multitude of the defendants, they were obliged to retreat, and quit the assault, with the loss of two hundred men.

His Highness being greatly irritated and ruffled by this repulse, but especially by the barbarous cruelty of the enemy, who murdered his soldiers taken in the storm in cold blood, upon the walls before his eyes; with which he was highly provoked, and called a second council of war, wherein

he proposed a second onset. The Earl of *Derby* considering how much he was concerned for his Lady and children, who unless the town was taken, would upon the Prince's departure be again immediately besieged, requested his Highness to allow him two companies of his old soldiers, then under the command of Colonel *Tyldesley*, and to give him the honour to command the van, saying he would either enter the town or leave his body in the ditch; his Highness appeared unwilling to hazard a person of his worth in so desperate an action, yet upon his importunity complied with his request; and things being prepared and ready, the Prince gave orders for an assault on all parts of the town where it was possible to make any approaches.

The Earl of *Derby* with his two hundred men marched directly to the walls, and after a quarter of an hour's hot dispute, entered the first man himself, who being seconded with fresh supplies, the town was instantly attacked on every quarter; *Rigby* himself got away, but left 2000 of his men behind him, most of which were slain upon the place, the Prince forbidding to give quarter to any person then in arms, because they had so inhumanly murdered his men in cool blood.

This action was performed on the 28th of May, 1644; and the sudden and surprising conquest of this town (just after so smart a repulse) was chiefly attributed to the courage and resolution of the brave Earl of *Derby*, animated by a just concern for the sufferings of his noble Lady and children; and to the bravery of the two hundred *Lancashire* men he had the honour to command on that occasion, who all fought with equal ardour for the

relief

relief of their noble Lady Mistress, being all tenants and neighbours sons, raised, cloathed, armed and trained by that valiant Earl, but ungenerously and disgracefully taken from him by the King at *Worcester*; whose weak and easy temper proved afterwards the ruin of himself and his brave and gallant subject the Earl of *Derby*; who once in all appearance had interest and power sufficient if a right use had been made thereof, to have delivered his Majesty from the power and malice of all his enemies.

The Prince having obtained this seasonable victory over the rebels in *Bolton*, sent all the colours taken there by Sir *Richard Lane* to the Lady *Derby*, which her Ladyship received as a singular honour as well as comfort, and caused them to be hung up in *Latham-House*, as a happy remembrance of God's mercy and goodness to her and her family.

From this place, after some days rest, his Highness was prevailed upon to march to *Liverpool*, to reduce that town, where the enemy had a strong garrison, under the command of Colonel *Moor*, a worthy member of that rebellious junto, who sat at *Westminster*, and took upon them to order and direct all the public affairs and government of the kingdom.

[The following account of the siege of *Bolton* is taken from *Ruslbworth's Collections*.

"On Tuesday May 28th, 1644, Prince *Rupert* with his whole army, consisting of 10,000 men or upwards, appeared about two o'clock in the afternoon, before the town of *Bolton*, approaching on the moor on the south-west part of it, but presently cast themselves into several bodies, and

sent out scouts to discover where they might most advantageously enter. Those in the town prepared for their defence, and gave the assailants half an hour's sharp entertainment, and repulsed them; but in the second attack, which was performed with all imaginable fury, a party of horse broke into the town, at a place called the *Private Acres*, (it being suspected that a certain townsman for a reward, had been their guide that way, as the most feasible passage) and they being once got in, every one endeavoured to shift for himself; and the Prince's forces rushed in on all quarters of the town, and put great numbers to the sword, pursuing their victory not only in the town, but some miles round, in out-houses, fields, highways, and woods, killing, destroying, and spoiling almost all they met with; and (as the towns-people alledged afterwards) denying quarter, and using other violences, besides totally plundering the town, and slaying four ministers. It was acknowledged by the Prince's own party, that they there put to the sword about 1200; but for this severity alledged, That the Prince sending an officer to summon the town, they not only refused, but in defiance caused one of the Prince's captains whom they had taken not long before, to be hanged in his sight. But as I find not this captain's name any where mentioned, so the other party wholly denied that part of the story. On the Parliament's side two captains were slain, but Colonel *Rigby*, a counsellor at law, and member of the House of Commons, who commanded here in chief, escaped with some scattered forces to *Bradford* in *Yorkshire*."

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The siege of *Bolton* is likewise thus described by a Cavalier who was in the Prince's army, he says, "When first the Prince came to the town, he sent a summons to demand the town for the King, but received no answer but from their guns, commanding the messenger to keep off at his peril. They had raised some works about the town, and having by their intelligence, learnt that we had no artillery, and were only a flying party, (so they called us) they contemned the summons, and shewed themselves upon their ramparts ready for us. The Prince was resolved to humble them, if possible, and takes up his quarters close to the town. In the evening he orders me to advance with one regiment of dragoons, and my horse to bring them off, if occasion was, and to post myself as near as possibly I could to the lines, yet so as not to be discovered; and at the same time having concluded what part of the works to fall upon, he draws up his men on two other sides, as if he would storm them there; and on a signal I was to begin the real assault on my side, with my dragoons, making them creep upon their bellies a great way, that we could hear the soldiers talk on the walls, when the Prince believing one regiment would be too few, sent me word that he had ordered a regiment of foot to help, and that I should not discover myself till they were come up to me. This broke our measures; for the march of this regiment was discovered by the enemy, and they took the alarm. Upon this I sent to the Prince to desire he would put off the storm for that night, and I would answer for it the next day; but the Prince was impatient, and sent orders we should fall on as soon as the foot came.

came up to us. The foot marched out of the way, missed us, and fell in with a road that leads to another part of the town; and being not able to find us, make an attack upon the town themselves; but the defendants being ready for them received them very warmly, and beat them off with great loss. I was at a loss now what to do; for hearing the guns, and by the noise knowing it was an assault upon the town, I was very uneasy to have my share in it; but I resolved punctually to adhere to the execution of orders; and mine being to lye still until the foot came up with me, I would not stir if I had been sure to have done never so much service; but however to satisfy myself, I sent to the Prince to let him know that I continued in the same place expecting the foot, and none being yet come, I desired further orders. The Prince was a little amazed at this, and finding there must be some mistake, came galloping away in the dark to the place, and drew off the men, which was no hard matter, for they were willing enough to give it over.

As for me the Prince ordered me to come off so privately, as not to be discovered, which I effectually did; and so we were baulked for that night. The next day the Prince fell on upon another quarter with three regiments of foot, but was beaten off with loss. At last the Prince resolved to carry it, doubled his numbers, and renewing the attack with fresh men, the foot entered the town over their works, killing in the first heat of the action all that came in their way; some of the foot at the same time letting in the fire; and so the town was entirely won.]

An account of the Siege and taking of

L I V E R P O O L,

June 26th, 1644.

Upon the Prince's arrival near *Liverpool*, he was informed that it was well fortified with a strong and high mud wall, and a ditch of twelve yards wide, and near three yards deep, inclosing the town from the east end of the street called *Dale-street*, and so northward to the river; and from *Dale-street* end, east and south-east, being a low marshy ground, was covered with water from the river, and batteries erected within to cover or guard against all passage over or through that water: All the street ends to the river were shut up, and those to the land inclosed with strong gates, defended by cannon: All useless women and children were sent to their friends in the country, on both sides the river: There was also a strong castle on the south, surrounded with a ditch of twelve yards wide, and ten yards deep, from which to the river was a covered way, through which the ditch was covered with water, and by which when the tide was out, they brought in men, provisions, and stores of war, as occasion required; In and upon this castle were planted many cannon, as well to annoy the besiegers at a distance, as to cover the ships in the harbour, which was then where the dock is now, and at the entrance whereof was a fort of eight guns to guard that, and to prevent all passages by the river side at low water; besides all these advantages

tages of defence, there was one most unhappy circumstance to many distressed families, but very lucky to the besieged; for in those distracted confused and rebellious times, the *English* protestants had great numbers of them been massacred in *Ireland*, and those who escaped with life, obliged to fly to *England* for refuge and safety, bringing with them all the effects they possibly could for support, amongst which was great quantities of wool: The besieged covered the tops of their mud walls with bags of wool, which saved them greatly from the small shot of the besiegers. The garrison within was numerous, and stored with arms and ammunition of all kinds, and in this state thought themselves able to give the Prince a hearty welcome on his visitation of them.

Liverpool is situate upon a ridge of land, on the east side of the river *-Mersey*, running from the north side of the town for about a mile to the south side thereof, where it falls to a flat; but in its form, for the most part, declines on the west side to the river, and on the east side to the country.

The town was at that time but small, either in appearance or reality to what it is now; however the fortifications of it then included most of all the town, as it is at present: the river is about a mile broad from bank to bank, and of depth sufficient for reception of the largest ships up to the town: The country near it is high land, which renders it unfit to sustain a long siege.

This made the Prince upon his near approach and view of the town, being unacquainted with its situation, (one side declining to the country, and the other to the river as before-mentioned,

so that he could see but little of it) to compare it to a crow's nest; but ere he became master of it, he said it might have been an eagle's nest, or a den of lions.

He fixed his main camp round the beacon, a large mile from the town, and his officers in the villages near it, from whence he brought a detachment every day to open the trenches and erect batteries: The latter were mostly placed upon the ridge of ground running from the north of *Townsend Mill*, to the present copper works and mills, and the trenches in the lower grounds under them. He relieved his trenches and batteries from his camp every twenty-four hours, and from them he battered the town, and attacked the besieged and their works very frequently by way of storm, but was always repulsed with great slaughter of his soldiers for the space of a month or near it, when some say the besieged on the north side deserted the works and the guard of them; but others say that Colonel *Moor* observing they would be taken, to ingratiate himself with the Prince, and to save his house and effects at *Bank-Hall* near it, gave direction to the soldiers to retreat from those works; but be that as it will, deserted they were on the north side, and the Prince's army entered the town on that side about three in the morning, and put all to the sword they met with, from their entrance to the *High Cross*, which stood where the exchange is now; and there they found a regiment of soldiers from the castle, drawn up in battle array, who beat a parley and demanded quarter; which on treaty they were allowed, but without any other articles than prisoners of war and surrender of the

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castle, with their persons and arms; upon which they were all sent to the tower, *St. Nicholas' church*, &c. The Prince taking possession of the castle himself.

His Highness having reduced *Liverpool*, was intreated by Lord *Derby* to take *Latham-House* in his march to *Tork*, and there refresh himself and his men for a few days, which he was pleased to comply with; and on his coming to *Latham*, found that house most strangely shattered by the enemy's cannon and mortar pieces; however he was with all his chief commanders treated agreeably to the greatness of his person and merit, and with all the expressions of thankfulness by the Earl of *Derby* and his most renowned Lady, for his seasonable relief of them and their noble family.

The Prince having viewed, and well considered the commodious situation of *Latham-House*, and the strength of the towers, with their regular position for the defence of one another, and of the walls, &c. Gave directions for adding to them bastions, counterescraps, &c. and all other out works necessary for the better defence thereof upon another siege when it should happen; and then at the request of the Lady *Derby* gave the government and keeping of the house, to the care and conduct of Capt. *Edward Rostharn*, whom the Prince made colonel of a regiment of foot, and gave him two troops of horse for its defence.

Captain *Chisenhall* another of those brave commanders who had well deserved honour, not only in the siege of that house, but on other remarkable actions, was also by the Prince made colonel of a regiment of foot, and marched with his Highness to *Tork*.
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The Prince having now recruited his army with men, arms, and ammunition, and all other necessities for his march, desired the Earl of *Derby* to return to his charge in the *Isle of Man*; as being probably better acquainted with those undeserved jealousies and suspicions still subsisting against him, than the Prince himself was; and of the apprehensions some great ones about the King had of a misapplication of too much power entrusted with him who had so near an alliance to the crown, therefore urged the Earl to a compliance with his request, and to take his Lady and children with him, as not knowing yet what might be the issue or success of the war in *England*; adding that the children of such a father and such a mother, might in their generation become as useful and serviceable to their Prince as their parents had been.

Sometime after this the battle of *Marston-moor* being lost by the Prince, it was not long before the enemy, as expected, sat down again before *Latham-House*, which though strengthened with such out-works as the Prince had directed, was much weakened within by the consumption of their provisions by the Prince's army, and the want of powder and match, which his highness had borrowed for the supply of his army on their march from thence to *York*.

But however, the new Governor Col. *Rosthern*, was neither wanting in care or diligence, nor in any good offices, for the supply of the garrison with provisions and all other necessities for sustaining a siege; and it was a great advantage to him that the Earl of *Derby* on his return to the *Isle of Man*, had left him in the house the chap-

lain, whose fidelity and great capacity his Lady had long and full experience of; and also another gentleman of good understanding and integrity to attend all his affairs in *England*, and both to be assisting to him the governor by their counsel and services, and to raise what money they possibly could out of his estate for the constant payment of the soldiers: These two gentlemen made the best use of the opportunity they had whilst the house was open, and raised a very considerable sum of money, by which they furnished the garrison with provisions, ammunition, and all other necessaries.

This being done, the governor disposed the soldiers to their respective officers: Commanders of horse were Major *Munday* and Capt. *Key*, and those of foot were Capt. *Charnock*, Capt. *Farrington*, Capt. *Molineux Radcliff*, Capt. *Henry Noel*, Capt. *Werril*, and Capt. *Roby*.

By this time being July, 1645, the enemy were again advanced with 4000 men to their head quarters at *Ormskirk*, under their old General *Egerton*: for *Rigby* upon the loss of his men at *Bolton* was laid aside; and upon the Governor Col. *Rosthern*'s information of their advance and strength, he ordered out a strong party of horse and foot. The first was commanded by Major *Munday*, the foot by Capt. *Molineux Radcliff*, and the rear was brought up by the Governor himself; and in this order they attacked the enemy's camp and quarters, with so much courage resolution and bravery, that they took all the guards of the enemy both horse and foot, routed their whole body, of which they killed and took many,

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the general himself with difficulty escaping by flying away in his shirt and slippers.

But that which was of greatest advantage to them, was the enemy's magazine of powder, which was taken and brought to *Latham*, and was their great increase of store for support of the siege which afterwards ensued. In this exploit Colonel *John Tempest* who served only as a volunteer, did most worthy and excellent service; the Governor animated the whole action, and indeed exposed himself to more hazard and danger than he need to have done as commander in chief.

This gallant attempt and success so amazed the enemy, and encouraged the troops of *Latham*, that for three weeks, in which time the enemy were largely recruited, they continued masters of the field, and after braved the enemy every day in their quarters for twelve months together. But notwithstanding their great numbers and utmost endeavours, they were never able to advance nearer than *Ormskirk*, where they were in a manner as much besieged as the other were in *Latham-House*.

But the ammunition of the garrison being now almost spent and they out of hopes of recruiting their store from *Manchester*, &c. as formerly, and their intelligence with some friends there being discovered; they were obliged to suspend all action abroad, and suffer the enemy to make nearer approaches to the house, and confine them closer within their own bounds.

Major *Morgan* being the enemy's engineer, drew a line a flight-shot from the house, as not intending either to batter or storm it, but only to hinder

hinder them from going abroad, and to straiten and prevent them from getting in provisions, or any other supplies. The trench of his line was three yards wide and two yards deep, and upon the rampire of the ditch he raised eight strong forts, wherein their soldiers might lie with some security, and be able to relieve one another upon sallies from the house.

Upon the north side of the house, which was the lowest ground, he run a deep trench near the very mote, hoping thereby to lay it dry, and then to undermine the house; but there being within it some skilful colliers, who had as much experience in mining and drawing off water as he was master of, and they being employed by the Governor to oppose him, always wrought counter to him; and keeping full chambers of water above him, they at pleasure opened them, and drowned both his works and men, to their entire disappointment and confusion.

And thus by the diligence, skill, and courage of the besieged, was this house full two years most gallantly and bravely defended against all the contrivance and force of the enemy; wherein by their own confession they lost at least 6000 men, and the garrison about 400.

The King himself was at this time upon his march for the relief of his brave and loyal subjects in *Latham-House*, and with intent to have transferred the war to *Lancashire*, but was unhappily defeated at *Rowton-heath*, near *Chester*; upon which misfortune he gave orders to the Earl's chaplain before-mentioned, (whom he had sent for to give him a state of the house and country about it) to advertise the Governor that it was his

his Majesty's pleasure he should accept a treaty with the enemy, and endeavour to procure from them as good terms as they could possibly obtain, since it was not in his power to relieve them:— Small comfort from the father of three kingdoms, to tell his children he was not able to succour them in their distress; which gives us a fatal instance of division in council, and the want of resolution and steady adherence to our best friends, which appears through the course of this history, and many others, to have been the true cause of the unhappy Prince here spoken of, who seems to have fallen under the observation of a learned poet, That,

The fortunate have whole years,

And those they choose;

But the unfortunate have only days,

And those they lose.

But however his Majesty's commission by the chaplain being got into the house, the governor like a wise and prudent commander, resolved to accept the first opportunity of a treaty which the enemy might offer; either induced thereto by their long service and severe sufferings in that memorable siege, or being ignorant of the true state of the place, which for ought they knew, might be furnished with all necessaries for many month's resistance, and they despairing of success requested that commissioners might be appointed on both sides, to treat of a surrender.

Whereupon commissioners were accordingly appointed, and a place of meeting agreed upon, wherein those on the part of the besiegers offered, That if the Governor and officers with him, would surrender the house and all the cannon, they should be

be permitted to march away with bag and baggage, drums beating, and colours flying; and that the Lady *Derby* and her children, should enjoy the third part of the Earl's estate, for their maintenance; and that all his goods should be safely conveyed to his other house at *Knowsley*, and there secured for his Lordship and family's use; that all gentlemen in the house should compound at one year's value for their estates; and that every clergyman in the house should enjoy half the revenue of his living, and should live quietly, without any oath imposed upon them.

These terms were judged reasonable by two of the commissioners appointed by the garrison, but the third would by no means consent unless they might take away the cannon also, whose indiscretion, and obstinate perverse humour, broke off the treaty, to the ruin of the besieged; for that very night, after the return of the commissioners, an *Irish* soldier in the garrison went down by the wall, and swimming over the mote, got to the enemy's camp, and immediately informed the commanding officers there that the rejection of their proposals, and the breaking of the treaty were highly displeasing to the garrison, that there was not bread in the house for two days, nor any other provisions or stores to hold out the siege any longer.

Upon this information, the enemy next morning summoned the garrison to an immediate surrender of the house and themselves prisoners, upon the bare terms of mercy, which the soldiers, being all in confusion, resolved to accept of, notwithstanding all intreaties by the Governor to the contrary, who gallantly and bravely proposed to them

to

to join him and fight their way through the enemy sword in hand, and either by that means to save themselves with honour and reputation, or bravely die in the attempt: But the worthy and valiant Governor, not being heard by them, the house was yielded up to a merciless enemy, and all the rich goods therein, became a booty to them. The rich silk hangings of the beds, &c. were torn to pieces and made sashes of; the towers and all the strong works razed to the ground and demolished, and all the buildings within it, leaving only standing two or three little timber buildings, as a monument of their fury and malice.

And thus was ruined and brought to destruction (partly by the obstinacy and indiscretion of one man, and the treachery of another) even to a cottage or heap of rubbish, the ancient, noble, and almost invincible House of *Latham*, whose antiquity, famous siege, and most heroic and gallant defence, can never be forgot whilst history remains in the world.

No more ought to be buried in oblivion the heroic and most gallant behaviour of those brave and martial spirits, who were instrumental and assisting in the ever-memorable defence of that place: And although none of them (except Capt. *Farmer*, Major *Munday*, and Capt. *Key*) were bred in a military way (except as a county militia) yet I think it may with modesty and justice be asserted, that no officers of any degree bred in the school of *Mars* or elsewhere, ever shewed more conduct, courage, magnanimity than those brave and worthy gentlemen (to their honour and everlasting fame let it be recorded) that defended *Latham*.

tham-House, against the powerful attacks of a formidable enemy, assisted by a far superior force, and an open country for supply.

The Prince having before this time refreshed and recruited his army (by the assistance of Lord *Derby*) with men, arms, and ammunition, proper for his march to *York*, urged that brave Lord to return to his charge in the *Isle of Man*, as being better and more fully acquainted than the Earl himself was with those undeserved jealousies and suspicions still subsisting against him by the great ones at court, and also of their vile and scurrilous suggestions and insinuations to his Majesty, that it was not safe to trust him with too much power who had so near an alliance to the crown, and knew so well how to use it to his own advantage. In the mean time his Highness the Prince was pressing with him to hasten to the island, and to take with him his lady and family, as not knowing what the success or the event of the war in *England* might be, adding that the children of such a father and such a mother, might in their generation become as useful and serviceable to their Prince and country, as their parents or any of their ancestors had been.

Having now given the reader the particulars of the memorable siege and surrender of *Latham-House*, dispatched his Highness Prince *Rupert* to the relief of *York*, and sent by his advice the noble Earl of *Derby* and his most worthy family as exiles to the *Isle of Man*: I cannot on these occasions omit a few thoughts and animadversions upon these subjects.

As to the Prince's advice and intention to the noble Earl and his family, I look upon that as sincere

ere and without guile, but the reasons offered us to induce it, I esteem no less than mere chimera and court cant, calculated with no other view or intent than to asperse, degrade, and valify that noble Lord, and to fix upon and stigmatize him with infamy and disgrace, as a person carrying on private designs and views of his own interest, separate from those of his royal master.

And in this light I have inspected and considered the actions and conduct of his whole life, as well before as since the commencement of the unhappy war then subsisting, and I cannot discover in the course of it the least inclination or tendency in any of his actions, to aggrandize himself or family at the expence of his Prince's honour, interest or safety; but on the contrary, that he had, agreeable to the tender made by him to his Majesty at York at his first appearance there, assisted him to the utmost of his power, with his person, interest and fortune, to the entire consumption of the latter, and in the end the total destruction of the first.

But let us go yet a little further, and consider that frightful article of his near alliance to the crown, as one reason given us for his exclusion from all favour, power, or trust under the King, and having duly weighed the nature thereof, we shall find it as light upon the balance as the former, consisting more in imagination than reality; more in pride, envy, malice, calumny, and court faction, than any evil designs or intentions, of the noble Lord here accused, villified, and condemned by the court parasites; who being in favour, power or trust with the Prince admit of no rivals, and that calumny, defamation, and detrac-

tion, are with them esteemed fashionable and courtly accomplishments.

Lastly, let us consider that the latent and dormant title to the crown by the Earl of *Derby*, on which so much stress appears to be laid, was at that time postponed and removed to so great a distance, that nothing less than downright rebellion could have revived or supported his pretensions, if any. Add thereto the ancestors of the royal family now on the throne being then in full life, nay one of them then his Majesty's General, the King himself having then issue both male and female, which rendered any project or attempt of this kind utterly impracticable to men of thought, and well known worth, ability, and most loyal and dutiful endeavours of the great Lord *Derby* for his Majesty's service, interest, and safety, plainly contradict and give the lie to all those invidious, malicious, and scandalous suggestions and insinuations, spread by the enemies of that noble Lord's integrity, innocency and justice.

That like causes usually produce the same or like effects, is an established rule with respect to men as well as things, from whence it is observed, that those favourites who have advanced themselves at court by mere dint of address, and by mean, unmanly and unbecoming arts of flattery and fawning sedulity, unknown to, and scorned by men of real abilities, have been always fatal to the nation; and that where the actions and resolutions of men of integrity, loyalty and real ability to serve the Prince and country, have been discouraged and treated with indignity and contempt: The peace, unity, and welfare of the whole hath generally suffered violent convulsions
and

and uncommon changes, if not the total ruin of the Prince, as in the case before us.

And with respect to the great and noble Lord here treated of, who may be esteemed of the number of those, discouraged and treated with contempt by his Prince, or the sycophant courtiers about him, or both: He acted steadily and zealously, on principles of liberty and the common good of mankind. He maintained them in all seasons, and was ashamed to be at ease while his king and country suffered, and the vigour with which he exerted himself against those to whom both owed their sufferings (unhappily to him and his noble family) brought on his own, much to be lamented, hard fate well known to the world.

Having just left the famous house of *Latham* in ashes, I have only to remark that many curious and notable transactions occurred during the siege thereof; that could not properly be related in the common course of this story, but however, well deserve to be remembered, and I doubt not but the knowledge of them will be as acceptable to the reader as those of the siege.

Give me leave to acquaint you that the Rev. and worthy Chaplain of the house, Mr. *Rutter*, managed all correspondence and intelligence by cyphers and characters: Wherein he first made use of a woman, one widow *Read*, of that neighbourhood, to bring in and carry out dispatches of that nature, by the assistance of fallies appointed for that purpose, upon a signal given by her to the house when she wanted to come in.

This secret and most hazardous service she most faithfully carried on for above a year, but was at last most unhappily taken with cyphers about her:

Some

Some for his Majesty King *Charles*, some for the Lord *Byron*, at *Chester*, and others to some correspondence at *Manchester*: Upon which she was required to tell to whom those characters at *Manchester* were directed, (for the enemy could not discover or interpret them) but she stoutly denied and refused to confess any thing relating to them, then she was threatened with severe punishment if she would not declare what she knew of them, but she still persisting in her integrity, she was then burnt with matches betwixt her fingers, so long, that three fingers of each hand were burnt off, yet the woman beyond the resolution of her sex, or of any woman upon record, suffered all those tortures with invincible patience, and would discover nothing.

Amongst the officers, the brave and gallant Capt. *Molineux Ratcliff*, merits perpetual remembrance for his most valiant services; who commanded the van in twelve sallies, and always brought off his men with success, but at last this gallant gentleman had the misfortune to be slain in storming a fort of the enemy's.

Capt. *Charles Ratcliff*, Capt. *Henry Noel*, Capt. *Roby*, and Capt. *Worral*, all behaved themselves with the greatest courage and resolution, and deserved better recompence than the King's affairs would allow them to expect.

Major *Munday* and Capt. *Key*, who commanded the horse, were certainly no way inferior to any officers of horse in the King's army: a specimen of which immediately follows.

Major *Munday*, during the siege, being challenged to fight his troop against so many of the enemy, chearfully accepted the challenge: Both
troops

troops were drawn out into the park, in the fight of the house and the enemy's army; in the engagement the Major received a shot in the side of his face, by which an artery being cut, bled excessively, upon which he desired the Lieutenant to make good the fight 'till he got the artery sewed up. The fight was made good till the Major returned, and then upon the first charge the enemy fled, and he took most of the troop prisoners. This brave and worthy gentleman, who after the siege of *Latham*, had retired to his own country, and returning into *England* again with his Majesty King *Charles II.* when he marched from *Scotland* to *Worcester*, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the merciless rebels, and being known by them, was for his bravery shot to death in cold blood.

Capt. *Key* being also challenged by a trumpet from the enemy, to fight hand to hand on horseback with Capt. *Asmall*, a Captain of the adverse party, accepted the challenge. Both troops met in the park, and stood aloot whilst the Captains fought single. In the engagement Capt. *Asmall* having discharged both his pistols at Capt. *Key* without much effect, *Key* immediately rode up to him, and thrust him through the neck with his javelin, on which he fell down dead from his horse; Capt. *Key* alighting, took him up in the face of his own troop, and flung him upon his own horse, and brought him into the house, upon which Capt. *Key's* Lieutenant offered to fight *Asmall's* Lieutenant, hand to hand or troop to troop, but they refused the offer, and fled to their main body.

The worthy Chaplain who I acquainted you
before

before had managed all the intelligence of the house, having lost his old friend the widow *Read*, who had most faithfully served him in that way to her death, after some time found another expedient, by means of a hound dog which he observed frequently to come and go betwixt his master in *Latham-House* and his mistress about three miles off, got private notice to the gentlewoman, that as oft as the dog came home she should look about his neck, and she would find a thread with a little paper wrapt about it, which he requested she would send to his Majesty; and when any papers were sent to her to come into the house, directed that she would tie them in like manner about the dog's neck, and keep him a while hungered, then open the door and beat him out.

And thus the poor dog being beaten backward and forward, conveyed all intelligence into and from the house for nine months together; till, at last leaping over the enemy's works in his way to the house, an angry ill-natured soldier shot him, but he got to the mote side near the gate with his dispatches, and there died, by which *Mrs. Rutter* lost his useful servant the dog.

However, though he could not contrive to furnish himself in the same way, yet he found out another expedient to answer near the same ends, but with greater advantage to the garrison; for by a correspondence he had formed with some trusty and hearty friends of the neighbourhood, they had agreed to make fires in the night upon the rising grounds at a distance from the house as signals, that corn, meal, and other provisions, were there laid ready for the besieged, and upon the

the appearance of those signals, the Governor sent out thirty or forty soldiers by way of sally to fetch them into the House, who being directed by those fires always found what they wanted, and the night following brought them to the garrison.

On other nights different soldiers were sent on the same errand; who by their instructions, care and diligence, never failed of success: And by this means the garrison was constantly supplied, until they were so closely confined by the enemy, and their numbers in the house declining so much, that they were not able to make their usual sallies for relief as before, which reduced them to the scarcity related at the time of their surrender.

But what may be greatly admired (even with wonder and surprise) was, that not one of all those soldiers sent out on those desperate occasions, and venturing their lives for a little bread, with which they were to fight their way into the house, for the relief of themselves and friends, ever deserted the service or staid out of time; but constantly returned with their fellows at the times expected, and were received and treated by their commanders with generosity, and the justice due to their courage, merit and fidelity.

The allowance of corn, meal, &c. thus brought into the house, was distributed and divided in the most equal manner from the Governor to the meanest soldier: three quarters of a pound was weighed to each man alike, the horses that were killed in the service, they broiled upon coals, and frequently eat, without either bread or salt.

That which proved a great relief to them was plenty of fuel, for the colliers being set to dig by way of trial, found coals and water both in

abundance

abundance within the house to their great comfort, the water in the mote being spoiled and rendered unfit for use by the enemy.

There was amongst the soldiers about 50*l.* in money, but of no use at all to them but to play at *Span-counter* with; they lent it to one another by handfuls, never telling or counting any. One day one soldier had all, and the next another, 'till at last all their sport was spoiled, the enemy at the gate stript them of every penny, and turned them out to the wide world.

When the house was given up, there were but 209 foot soldiers in it, and of all their horse but five left alive, the rest being all eaten up. The common soldiers were all discharged as before, but their gallant and brave commanders were all made close prisoners, and so continued a long time after.

Having now as I promised, given the reader all the remarkable transactions and occurrences I have been able to collect or be informed of, attending the famous siege of *Latham-House*, from the beginning to the end, and also noted the eminent conduct, courage, and memorable behaviour of those brave and worthy gentlemen who engaged themselves in the defence thereof; I am now arrived at a period of time, wherein I find the whole kingdom involved in the greatest disorder and distraction, portending nothing less than the ruin or destruction of the whole constitution in church and state. The very face and appearance of all public and even private affairs being quite changed, the whole nation was in a general and most deplorable state and confusion and distraction: Nothing being known or heard of but imprisonments, prosecutions,

prosecutions, sequestrations, and executions of his Majesty's most loyal and dutiful friends, subjects and servants.

Upon information of these things (as his Lordship's Memoirs continue) I enquired further how affairs stood with the King, and was told that his Majesty's army under the command of his nephew Prince *Rupert* was entirely defeated and dispersed at *Marston-moor*, by the Earl of *Manchester*; and that not long after the King himself was vanquished and totally routed at *Naseby*, the 14th of June, 1645, the loss whereof reduced him to a most unhappy situation of life, having not so much as a common guard left him for the security of his person, being obliged to fly from place to place with the utmost privacy, to prevent his being taken prisoner; and not knowing where to go for safety and protection from his furious and inveterate enemies, at last unhappily fell a sacrifice into their hands, being seized by a party of *Cromwell's* soldiers, and carried by them prisoner to *Hurst Castle*, and from thence hurried from prison to prison, till at last he was brought to a formal trial before a court established by his own subjects, who accused him of having made war against his Parliament, and had him condemned and beheaded, upon a scaffold raised under the windows of his palace of *Whitehall*, on Tuesday the 30th of January, 1648-9.

A shocking scene of iniquity and usurpation; the very thoughts whereof struck me with horror; and methought was sufficient to have melted the hearts of the most hardened and abandoned wretch concerned in such iniquitous and barbarous proceedings, as the destruction of their natural

rightful prince, and the extirpation of his royal family to the utmost of their power.

But the goodness of our gracious God is ever with them that love and fear him, and although he is the protector and support of all under oppression and distress, yet sometimes he postpones the punishment for great and wise reasons unknown to us; yet to shew the power of his wrath, and his care of the innocent and distressed, sooner or later his avenging hand will overtake all wicked and evil doers, as observed by a learned author in the case before us; that not only those very persons immediately concerned in the murder of that King, and in all the confusions the nation was involved in by their means, were in a short time reduced to a state of contempt, and their posterity branded with ignominy and disgrace, attended with their utter extirpation from the face of the earth, scarcely one of them being left or known in the world at this time.

But what remains to be much lamented, is that the mischief, misery, and persecution of those virulent times ended not here. The Prince of *Wales* being then in exile, those rebellious sons of perdition called the Parliament, published a prohibition against proclaiming him King, with a penalty of punishment as in cases of high treason, and afterwards passed an act for abolishing the regal power as useless, burthensome, and dangerous; and soon after set a price upon the head of *Charles Stuart*, the late King's eldest son.

And under this melancholy, dejected, and uncomfortable state, the nation languished in misery persecution, and deep distress, to the year 1650; when the Scots took up arms in favour of *Charles*

H. whom they had recalled in order to set him upon the throne of his father, and who was arrived there, and his coronation soon after solemnized at *Scoon*, the 1st of January, 1650-1; and afterwards he put himself at the head of an army of 15,000 foot and 3000 horse, and with them entered *England*, and proceeded as far as *Worcester*, where he was honourably received.

During the interval of time betwixt Lord and Lady *Derby* and their families retiring to the *Isle of Man*, and the King's execution, many particulars occurred, to wit, the rebels re-possest themselves of all places of strength, and of the castle of *Liverpool* in particular, whereof the worthy Col. *Birch* was made Governor. In the year 1646, the Parliament moved with the tears, cries, and prayers of the distressed wives, widows, and fatherless children of their fellow subjects, and even relations, made an ordinance for their relief. And in 1647, encouraged by the said ordinance and order, the children of the Earl of *Derby* having procured a pass from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* for that purpose, came over from the *Isle of Man* to *England*, to procure a fifth part of their father's estate for their support and education, according to the aforesaid ordinance, and after a year's solicitation obtained an allowance of a fifth thereof, and were at last permitted to their father's house at *Knowsley*, wherein Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had been very civil and generous, as indeed he was upon all occasions, in a gentleman-like manner; but envy and malice are enemies that never sleep; for they had not been there above twelve months before Col. *Birch*, complying with *Bradshaw*, the bloody President, made them all prisoners at *Liverpool*, where

where he was then Governor, and all their servants with them, not allowing any of them one morsel of bread, which they were obliged to beg for from their impoverished friends, and other kind and compassionate acquaintance; and all the pretence for this cruel, unchristian, and barbarous usage, was, that the Earl their father kept the *Isle of Man* against the Parliament, though it was his own estate.

Upon which General *Fairfax* being addressed and complained to, by the unhappy sufferers, sent a message in writing to the Earl their father purporting; "That if his Lordship would deliver that Island to the Parliament's commands, his children should not only be set at liberty, but he should peaceably return to *England*, and enjoy one moiety of all his estate." To which his Lordship returned this answer. "That he was greatly afflicted for the sufferings of his children; that it was not the course of great and noble minds to punish innocent children for their father's offences; that it would be a clemency in Sir *Thomas Fairfax* either to send them back to him, or to *Holland*, or to *France*; but if he could do none of these, his children must submit to the mercy of God Almighty, but should never be redeemed by his disloyalty: and thus they continued prisoners for eighteen months together, without compassion, mercy, or relief from the Parliament, or any of their hard-hearted, unrelenting officers, until their father was by his Majesty's command called from the *Isle of Man* to attend him in *Lancashire*, on his march from *Scotland* to *Worcester* as aforesaid, whereof *Birch* being informed and fearing his Lordship would knock at his gates for his children

children, sent them and their servants away prisoners to *Chester*."

The great and noble Earl being called into England by King *Charles II.* to meet him in *Lancashire*, with full assurance from his Majesty, that not only his own party, but the presbytery also would join him, in order to his Majesty's restoration in England. His Lordship accordingly brought with him above 300 gallant gentlemen, who were at that time with his Lordship in the *Isle of Man*; and though his Lordship made all possible speed to have met the King in *Lancashire*, yet it so happened, that his Majesty had marched through that county three days before he could get over, but had left Major-General *Masse*y to receive him.

Upon notice whereof his Lordship hastened to *Warrington*, where he met the Major-General, who that very night brought in many of the presbyterian party to his Lordship; to whom his Lordship addressing himself, acquainted them that he was come from the *Isle of Man*, to do his Majesty all the service in his power; that the King had given him his assurance under his own hand, (of which he gave them a sight) that all those gentlemen of that persuasion would be ready to join with him; that he was to that end ready to receive whoever were pleased to come to him, and with them to march immediately to his Majesty.

To this one of their ministers in behalf of himself and the rest of his brethren, replied to his Lordship: "That he hoped and so did all the gentlemen with him, that his Lordship would put away all the papists he had brought from the
Isle

Iſle of Man, and that he himſelf would take the covenant, and then they would all join with him." to this his Lordſhip replied, "Sir, I hope this is only your own opinion, and therefore I deſire that the gentlemen preſent will be pleaſed to deliver their own ſentiments;" when all made answer, "That their miniſter had ſpoke their thoughts: adding that his Maſteſty had taken the covenant, and thereby gave encouragement to all his ſubjects to do the ſame; and that if his Lordſhip would not put away all papifts, and enter publicly into the ſolemn league, they could not join him."

To this his Lordſhip replied, "That upon theſe terms he might long ſince have been reſtored to his whole eſtate, and that bleſſed martyr *Charles I.* to all his kingdom. That he came not now to diſpute but to fight for his Maſteſty's reſtoration, and would upon the iſſue of the firſt battle, humbly ſubmit himſelf to his Maſteſty's direction in that point; that he would reſuſe none of any perſuaſion whatſoever, that came in chearfully to ſerve the King; and hoped they would give him the ſame freedom and latitude, to engage whom he could for his Maſteſty's preſervation, and that he was well aſſured, that all thoſe gentlemen he had brought with him were ſincere and honeſt friends to his Maſteſty's perſon and intereſt."

To the ſame effect Major-General *Maſſey* ſeconded his Lordſhip, wherein he made uſe of the ſtrongeſt arguments and exhortations to lay aſide all animoſities, and depart from their former miſtakes; and by his and other examples embrace this opportunity which God had put into their hands, and to join heartily with the Earl of Derby

in manifestation of their own duty and loyalty, and the vindication of themselves from all attempts or intention of usurpation that they were suspected of, and then lay upon them.

But the whole party insisted peremptorily upon their demands, to have all the papists disbanded, and the Earl of *Derby* to take the covenant, without which they would not join the Earl; who perceiving it was in vain to press them any further upon that subject, the old leaven having taken too much effect, and soured them too far to be sweetened by any arguments or reasonings whatsoever; therefore his Lordship only added before parting,—Gentlemen, if you will be persuaded to join with me, I make no doubt but in a few days to raise as good an army to follow the King as that he has now with him, and by God's blessing to shake off the yoke of bondage resting upon both you and us; if not, continued he, I cannot hope to effect much; I may perhaps have men enough at my command, but all the arms are in your possession, without which I shall only lead naked men to slaughter; however I am determined to do what I can with the handful of gentlemen now with me for his Majesty's service; and if I perish, I perish; but if my master suffer, the blood of another Prince and all the ensuing miseries of this nation will lie at your doors. Upon which his Lordship took horse, having with him only the worthy gentlemen that came from the *Isle of Man*, and some few of the royal party that were come in to him.

His Lordship on resting a while sent out his warrants, for all persons willing to serve his Majesty under him forthwith to repair to him at

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Preston,

Preston, the place appointed for their rendezvous. These warrants were secretly dispersed in all the chief towns in the county, and many came to him from all parts; but before he could possibly raise and accoutre a sufficient number, Col. *Lilbourn*, then in the county with 1800 dragoons, and the foot militia of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*, were got to *Manchester* and marching directly against Lord *Derby*; his Lordship had at that time about six hundred horse, and being informed the enemy were near him, trusting to the goodness of his cause and the courage and resolution of those with him, he resolved with these to engage that great body of the enemy; therefore gave orders to march forthwith to *Wigan*, a most faithful and loyal town to his Majesty, and there to expect the enemy.

But unhappily and unexpectedly to him, *Lilbourn* having made long marches, had, before his Lordship could reach the town, lined the hedges with his foot, and engaged his Lordship's troops in *Wigan-Lane*; however the Earl still held on his march in very good order, and in continual expectation of an engagement, when approaching near the enemy, he caused his troops to halt so long as to give them his orders, then divided his horse into two bodies, about three hundred in each; the van he commanded himself, and gave the rear to Sir *Thomas Tyldesley*, and then sounded a charge.

Twice his Lordship and all his party made their way clear through the whole body of the enemy; but attempting it a third time, and being oppressed and environed by unequal numbers, the Lord *Witherington*, Sir *Thomas Tyldesley* and many other
brave

brave and worthy gentlemen, were slain: Sir *Throgmorton*, Knight Marshal, was left among the dead, but taken up by a poor woman, and relieved by that worthy Knight Sir *Robert Bradshaw*.

His Lordship had two horses killed under him, and was seconded and remounted both times by a faithful servant, a *Frenchman*, who there lost his life by his master's side; in the third charge, upon the fall of Lord *Witherington*, his Lordship mounted his horse, and being seconded by six gentlemen of his party, he with them fought his way thro' a great body of the enemy into the town; where his Lordship quitting his horse, leapt in at a door that stood open, and immediately shut it before the enemy could reach it, and the woman of the house kept it shut until such time that his Lordship was conveyed to a place of privacy, where he lay concealed for many hours, notwithstanding the most industrious search of the enemy.

Of the six hundred gentlemen with his Lordship, he lost at least the half, himself having received seven shots upon his breast-plate, and thirteen cuts upon his beaver which he wore over a cap of steel, which was taken up in the lane after the battle. He also received five or six slight wounds in his arms and shoulders, but none very dangerous. Perhaps this age has not seen or known an action of greater bravery, where 600 horse fought 3000 horse and foot, in a disadvantageous place for two hours together, leaving 700 dead upon the spot, besides the wounded, with the loss of 300 only.

His Lordship having got his wounds privately dressed, and furnished with a disguise, that very night about two o'clock, attended only with three

servants began his journey towards *Worcester*, whither he came before the battle there; and though his wounds were green and sore, he attended his Majesty through the whole fight, behaving therein with his usual and accustomed gallantry.

That battle being unluckily lost on the third of September, 1651, his Lordship conducted his Majesty with safety to a friend's house, yet famous for the Royal-Oak, where his Lordship had been kindly treated on his journey to *Worcester*, and there having happily disposed of his Majesty in great security, his Lordship prepared for his return, being accompanied by the Lord *Lautherdale* and about forty more; who taking their march through bye-ways to get into *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, had the misfortune to fall in the way of a regiment of foot and a troop of horse of the enemy, commanded by Major *Edge*, who were marching towards *Worcester*: After some small dispute with that party, the Earl and his companions making themselves known, had quarter given for life, and condition for honourable usage upon giving up their arms and submitting themselves to be their prisoners;

But this great and valiant person being now in his enemies hands, *Bradshaw*, *Rigby*, and *Birch*, design him to be a victim to their inveterate malice; *Bradshaw*, because he had denied him the Vice-Chamberlain's place at *Chester*, preferring Mr. *Bridgeman*, now Lord *Bridgeman*, before him; *Rigby*, because of his ill success before *Latham House* and *Bolton*; and *Birch*, because his Lordship had trailed him under a hay-cart at *Manchester*, by which he got, even among his own party,

party, the deserved epithet of the Earl of *Derby's* carter. These three assisted by Sir *Richard Houghton*, a rebellious son of a very loyal father, Sir *Gilbert Houghton*, carver to his Majesty, representing to *Cromwell* how unsafe it would be not only to that country, but the whole nation, to suffer that man to live; got a commission to try him by a pretended court-martial, that is by twelve sequestrators and committee men. During the preparation for this unjust and undeserved trial, his Lordship wrote to his Lady then in the *Isle of Man*.

LORD DERBY'S Letter to his LADY after he was taken, and prisoner at *Chester*.

My dear Heart,

IT hath been my misfortune since I left you, not to have one line of comfort from you, which hath been more afflictive to me; and this, and what I now further write you, must be a mass of many things in one.

I will not stay long on particulars, but in short inform you that the King is dead, or narrowly escaped in disguise, whether, not yet known. All the nobles of the party killed or taken, save a few and it matters not much where they be. The common soldiers are dispersed, some in prison, some sent to other nations, and none like to serve any more on the same score. I escaped a great danger at *Wigan*, but met with a worse at *Worcester*; being not so fortunate as to meet with any that would kill me, and thereby have put me out of the reach of envy and malice. Lord *Lauderdale* and I having escaped, hired horses, and falling into the enemy's hands, were not thought worth

worth killing, but had quarter given us by one Capt. *Edge*, a *Lancashire* man; and one that was so civil to me, that I and all that love me, are beholding to him.

I thought myself happy in being sent prisoner to *Chester*, where I might have the comfort of seeing my two daughters, and to find means of sending to you; but I fear my coming here may cost me dear, unless Almighty God in whom I trust, will please to help me some other way; but whatsoever come of me I have peace in my own breast, and no discomfort at all but the afflictive sense I have of your grief, and that of my poor children.

Colonel *Duckenfield*, Governor of this town, is going according to his orders from the Parliament, General to the *Isle of Man*, where he will make known unto you his business.

I have considered your condition and my own, and thereupon give you this advice. Take it not as from a prisoner, for I am never so close confined, my heart is my own, free still as the best, and I scorn to be compelled to your prejudice, though by the severest tortures. I have procured *Baggerley*, who was prisoner in this town, to come over to you with my letter, I have told him my reasons, and he will tell them to you, which done, may save the spilling of blood in that island, and it may be of some here, dear to you, but of that take no care; neither treat at all, for I perceive it will do you more hurt than good.

Have a care my dear soul of yourself, and of my dear *Moll*, *Ned*, and *Billy*; as for those here I will give them the best advice I can; it is not with us as heretofore. My son with his spouse, and my nephew

nephew *Stanley*, have come to see me, of them all I will say nothing at this time, excepting that my son shews great affection, and is gone to *London*, with exceeding concern and passion for my good. He is changed much for the better, I thank God, and would have been a greater comfort to me, if I could have left him more, or if he had provided better for himself.

The discourse I have had here of the *Isle of Man*, has produced the inclosed, or at least such desires of mine as I hope *Baggerley* will deliver to you upon oath to be mine; and truly as matters go, it will be the best for you to make condition for yourself, children, and friends, in the manner as we have proposed, or as you can further agree with Col. *Duckensfield*, who being so much a gentleman born, will doubtless for his own honour deal fairly with you.

You know how much that place is my darling, but since it is God's will to dispose in the manner it is, and of this nation and *Ireland* too, there is nothing further to be said of the *Isle of Man*, but to refer all to the will of God; and to procure the best conditions you can for yourself, and our poor family and friends there, and those that came over with me; and so trusting in the assistance and goodness of God, begin the world again, though near to winter, whose cold and piercing blasts are much more tolerable than the malicious approaches of a poisoned serpent, or an inveterate or malign enemy; from whose power the Lord of heaven bless and preserve you. God Almighty comfort you, and my poor children, and the son of God, whose blood was shed for our good, preserve your lives; that by the good will and mercy
of

of God we may meet once more on earth, and at last in the kingdom of heaven; where we shall be for ever free from all rapine, plunder, and violence, and so I rest everlastingly,

Your most faithful,

DERBY.

By this time the judges were appointed, and the court formed for the trial of the noble Earl of Derby, at *Chester*; *Mackworth*, of *Shrewsbury*, being President; Major *Mitton*, *Robert Duckenfield*, *Henry Bradshaw*, *Thomas Croxton*, and *George Twisleton*, Colonels;—*Henry Birkenhead*, *Simon Finch*, and *Alexander Newton*, Lieutenant-Colonels, —*James Stoford*, *Samuel Smith*, *John Downes*, *John Dolves*, *John Griffith*, *Thomas Portington*, *Edward Alcock*, *Ralph Powell*, *Richard Grantham*, *Edward Stolfax*, and *Vinent Corbett*, Captains.

The DEFENCE of the Right Honourable *James Earl of Derby*, on his trial for life at *Chester*, before a court-martial, composed of sequestrators and committee-men above-named; he being allowed neither council nor books in court for his assistance; addressed himself to the President in manner following.

SIR,

I understand myself to be convened before you, as well by a commission from your General, as by an act of parliament, of the twelfth of August last.

To the articles exhibited against me, I have given a full and ingenuous answer. What may present itself for my advantage I have gained liberty to offer and urge by advice, and I doubt

not

not but in a matter of law, the court will be to me instead of council.

Sir, First I shall observe to you, the nature and general order of a court-martial, and the laws and actions of it as far as concerns my case, and then shall apply my plea to such orders.

And therefore I conceive (under favour) that the laws of court-martial are as the laws of nature and nations, equally binding all persons military, and to be observed inviolably.

And there it is, if a judgment be given in one court-martial, there is no appeal to any other court-martial. Of which court-martial, the civil law gives a plentiful account.

But because it is one only point of martial law, which I am to insist upon for my life, I shall name it, and debate the just right of it, as quarter for life, given by Capt. *Edge*; which I conceive to be a good Bar to a trial for life by a council of war.

That quarter was given me, if scrupled, I am ready to prove; and that it is pleadable, is above dispute. I shall only remove one objection, which is, that though this is a court-martial, yet the special nature of it is directed by Parliament.

To this I answer, though the Parliament directed the trial as it is, yet, it is to be considered as a court-martial, which cannot divest itself nor is divested of its own nature, by any such direction. For to appoint a court-martial to proceed by any other laws than a court-martial can, is a repugnancy in *natura rei*.

So as such a court-martial retains its own proper laws and jurisdiction for the support of itself; so the pleas and liberties incident to it, cannot be denied to the prisoner.

That quarter, and such quarter as I had given me, is a good plea for life to a council of war: I shall not endeavour so much to evince by authors, that being the proper work of the learned in civil law; but by such way as we call *jus gentium*, is proved by common practice and strong reasons.

For the first, I shall not need to bring foreign instances, being before you, whose experience hath made this thing familiar to you.

And I believe you will agree with me, that I am not only the first peer, but the first man tried by a court-martial after quarter given; unless some matter, *ex post facto*; or subsequent to such quarter, brought them within the examination of such court-martial. And (as I am informed) upon the great trial of the Earl of *Cambridge*, Lord *Capell*, Earl of *Holland*, &c. the plea of quarter being strongly urged, it was only avoided upon this ground, that it was no good plea against a civil jurisdiction; there being no colour of dispute tacitely admitted, and concluded that it was a good plea against a military jurisdiction.

And though the Lord *Capell*, and Lord *Goring's* quarter, seemed to have some advantage, as being given by the General, and by way of articles; yet the quarter given to the Earl of *Cambridge*, was given him by a particular Captain, and that quarter (as quarter considered) as strong as the other; only both avoided by the civil jurisdiction, it being a rule in war, that quarter hath as much force being given in action, as articles in a cessation, both irreverfable by any military power. And though it be a maxim in politics, that no General

or soldier's concession shall prejudice the state interest, yet they shall be bars to their power.

I confess I love the law of peace, more than that of war; yet in this case I must adhere to those of war.

And I would only know, whether quarter was given me for a benefit or for a mischief; if for a benefit, I am now to have it made good; if for a mischief, it destroys the faith of all men in arms.

And I have read this for a maxim in war, that promises made by Kings and state commanders, ought to be observed inviolably, or else there never will be any yielding. And I shall lay this before you as a rule, that quarter given by the meanest soldier (if not forbidden) obliges as far as if the general had done it himself.

It may be objected then, that it may rest in the power of any private soldier by giving quarter to pardon treason. To this I say, I plead it not as an absolute pardon, but as a bar to a court-martial; and here I shall infer farther from conclusion of treasons.

The profession of a soldier hath danger enough in it, and he need not to add any thing to it to destroy the right of arms.

I am before you as a court martial, it may be, some or most of you have in some action or other since the troubles began, received quarter for your lives; than would it not be a hard measure, that any court-martial should try you afterwards.

If this quarter be foiled or nulled, all the treaties, articles, terms, or conclusions, since the war began, may be examinable by any subsequent court-martial.

Nay, more than this, the sword, the law &

arms, all military interest, and your own safety is judged and jeopard'd as well as mine.

But I shall not multiply, presuming you will not judge by laws of war, in which capacity only you sit; and that your religion and common justice allow that plea, which is universally even in all parts of the world allowable.

If you be dissatisfied, I pray (that as an essential to justice) I may have a Doctor of the civil law assigned, or at least have liberty to produce their books of opinions; and that in the interim you suspend your sentence.

Touching levying forces in the *Isle of Man*, and invading *England*; I myself (and that truly) be a stranger to all the acts for treason, and in particular to the acts of the twelfth of August.

And that the *Isle of Man* is not particularly named in any of the acts touching treason: and being not particularly named, those acts reach it not, nor bind those of that island,

And especially, that I was not in the *Isle of Man* when the last act was made; and the law looks not backward, and while I was in *England* I was under an unlikelihood, and even impossibility of knowing the new acts. And in martial law, *ignorantia juris* is a good plea, which I leave to judgment; having as to matter of fact confessed and submitted to the mercy of the Parliament.

I do as to your military power earnestly plead quarter, as a bar to your further trial of me; and doubt not but you will deeply weigh a point so considerable both to your consciences and concerns, before you proceed to sentence, and admit my appeal to his excellency Lord General *Cromwell*, in this single point.

Upon

Upon this the court without considering whether his plea against the power of the court-martial, after quarter was given by a field officer, was good or no, a defence allowed in all civil nations; was yet over-ruled by that bench of sequestrators, who were altogether acted and influenced by *Bradshaw* and his confederates, summed up his crimes in the following articles, (to wit.) "That he had traitorously borne arms for *Charles Stuart* against the Parliament; that he was guilty of a breach of an act of parliament of the 12th of August, 1651, prohibiting all correspondence with *Charles Stuart*, or any of his party; that he had fortified his house of *Latham* against the Parliament, and that he now held the *Isle of Man* against them, &c." And therefore they gave sentence of death and appointed his execution to be at *Bolton*, within fourteen days; that he might nor have time to appeal to Parliament.

However, his son the Lord *Strange*, having beforehand laid horses ready, rid post to *London* in one day and night, got his petition read in the junto by Mr. *Lenthel*, their speaker, (which no man else would read or receive) but *Cromwell* and *Bradshaw* had so ordered the matter, that when they saw the major part of the House inclined to allow the Earl's plea, as the speaker was putting the question, eight or nine of them quitted the House, and those left in it being under the number of forty, no question could be put: So the Lord *Strange* seeing all attempts or endeavours to save the life of his father, fruitless and of no effect, for that the grandees had resolved upon, and determined his death: With incredible speed he returned to his father before the hour of execution,

cution, and acquainted him with the cruel and bloody resolution of his professed and implacable enemies.

His father embracing him with all the tenderness of natural love and affection, said to him, son, I thank you for your duty, diligence, and best endeavours to save my life, but since it cannot be obtained I must submit; and kneeling down, said "*Domine non mea voluntas sed tua.*" Then calling for his friends whom he had desired to be witnesses of his death, prepared for the scaffold; and died with more courage and christian patience, than his enemies malice could murder with.

An account of the christian behaviour and humble deportment of *James Earl of Derby*, from his trial at *Chester*, to his execution at *Bolton*; by his Chaplain, the Rev. Mr. *Humphery Baggerley*, who attended him on that mournful occasion.

UPON Monday the 13th of October, 1651, my Lord procured me liberty to wait upon him, having then been close prisoner for ten days. He told me the night before, Mr. *Slater*, Col. *Duckenfield's* chaplain, had been with him from the Governor, to persuade his Lordship, that they were confident his life was in no danger; but his Lordship told me, he patiently heard his discourse, but did not believe him; for, said he, I was resolved not to be deceived with the vain hopes of this fading world.

After we had walked a quarter of an hour, and discoursed his commands to me, in order to my journey to the *Ile of Man*, touching his consent to my Lady to deliver it up, upon those articles
his

his Lordship had signed for that purpose; with his affectionate protestations of his honour and respect to my Lady, both for her high birth and goodness for a wife, with much tenderness of his children there, especially my Lady *Mary*, and was going on.—But on a sudden came in one Lieutenant *Smith*, a rude fellow, and with his hat on, told my Lord he came from Col. *Duckenfield*, the Governor, to tell him he must be ready for his journey to *Bolton*; he replied, when would you have me to go, to-morrow morning by six o'clock, said *Smith*; well, said my Lord, I thank God I am readier to die than for my journey, however commend me to the Governor, and tell him by that time I will be ready for both.

Then that insolent rebel *Smith* said, doth your Lordship know any friend or servant that would do that thing your Lordship knows of; it would do well if you had a friend; my Lord replied, what do you mean, would you have me to find one to cut off my own head? *Smith* said, my Lord if you could get a friend; my Lord answered, nay Sir, if those men that will have my head will not find one to cut it off, let it stand where it is; I thank my God my life hath not been so bad that I should be instrumental to deprive myself of it; though he hath been so merciful to me as to be well resolved against the worst of terrors death can put upon me, and for me and my servants, our ways have been to prosecute a just war by honourable and just means, and not those barbarous ways of blood, which to you is a trade.

Then *Smith* went out and called me to him, and repeated his discourse and desires to me; I only told him, that my Lord had given him a final

final answer on that head. Then upon my coming in again, my Lord calling for pen and ink, wrote his last letter to my Lady, and that to my Lady *Mary* and his sons in the *Isle of Man*.

In the mean time Mr. *Paul Moreau*, a servant to his Lordship, went and bought all the rings he could get, and my Lord wrapt them up in several papers, and writ within them, and made me subscribe them to his children, friends, and servants.

The rest of that day, being Monday, he spent with my Lord *Sirange*, Lady *Catherine*, and my Lady *Amelia*; at night about six I came to him again, when the Ladies were gone away, and as we were walking, and my Lord telling me that he would receive the sacrament the next morning, and on Wednesday morning both, in came the aforesaid *Smith*, and said, my Lord, the Governor desires you would be ready to go in the morning about seven o'clock; my Lord replied, Lieutenant, pray tell the Governor I shall not have occasion to go so early, by nine o'clock will serve my turn, and by that time I will be ready, if he has earnestest occasion, he may take his own hour.

That night I staid supper with my Lord, who was exceeding chearful and well composed; and drank to Sir *Timothy Featherstone* (who suffered at *Chester* a week after in the same cause) and said, Sir, be of good comfort, I go willingly before you; God hath so strengthened me that you shall hear that by his assistance I shall so submit both as a christian and a soldier, as to be both a comfort and an example to you.

Then he often remembered my Lady, Lady *Mary*, and the little honourable Masters, and drank

drank to me, and once to all his servants, especially to *Andrew Broome*; and said, he hoped now that they who loved him, would never forsake his wife and children, and he doubted not but God would be a master to them, and provide for them after his death.

In the morning his Lordship delivered me the letters for the island, and said, *Baggerley*, deliver these with my most tender affection to my wife and sweet children, who shall continue with my prayers for them to the last minute of my life, and I have instructed you as to all things for your journey. But as to that sad part of it with respect to them I can say nothing, but must remain in silence, for your own looks will best tell your message. The great God of heaven direct you, and prosper and comfort them, in this their day of deep affliction and distress.

His Lordship took leave of Sir *Timothy Featherstone* much in the same manner as the night before; Mr. *Crossen* and three other gentlemen which were condemned came out of the dungeon, (at my Lord's request to the Marshal) and kissed his hand, and wept at taking leave; my Lord said, gentlemen, God bless and keep you, I hope now my blood will satisfy for all that were with me, and now you will in a short time be at liberty; but if the cruelty of these men will not end there, be of good comfort, God will strengthen you to endure to the last as he hath done me; for you shall hear I die like a christian, a man, a soldier, and an obedient subject, to the most just and virtuous of princes.

After we were out of town about half a mile, my Lord meeting his two daughters, Lady *Catherine*

rine and *Amelia*, alighted from his horse and with an humble behaviour and noble carriage, kneeled down by the boot of the coach and prayed for them, then rising up, took his leave, and so parted. This was the deepest scene of sorrow my eyes ever beheld; so much grief, and so much concern, and tender affection on both sides, I never was witness of before.

That night, Tuesday the 14th of October, 1651, we came to *Leigh* near *Winwick*, and in the way thither, his Lordship called me to him, and bid me when I should come at the *Isle of Man*, to commend him to the Arch-Deacon there, and tell him he well remembered the several discourses that passed between them concerning death, and the manner of it; that he had often said the thoughts of death could not trouble him in fight, or with a sword in his hand; but that he feared it would somewhat startle him, tamely to submit to a blow upon a scaffold: But, said he, tell the Arch-Deacon from me, that I do find in myself an absolute change as to that opinion; and I bless my God for it who hath put these comforts and courage into my soul; I can with resignation to his Almighty will, as willingly lay down my head upon a block, as ever I did upon a pillow.

My Lord at supper made a competent meal, saying, he would imitate his Saviour; a supper should be his last act in this world, as it was his Saviour's own supper before he came to the cross, which he said he should do to-morrow. That night he spent upon his bed, from betwixt ten and eleven until six next morning; as he laid him down upon his right side with his hand under his face, he said, methinks I lie like a monument

in a church, and to-morrow I shall really be so. As soon as he rose, and after prayer, he shifted himself, and said, this shall be my winding sheet; he then said to Mr. *Paul*, see that it be not taken from me, for I will be buried in it.

Then he called on my Lord *Strange*, and said, "Put on my order once this day, and I will send it to you again by *Baggerley*, and pray return it to my gracious Sovereign when you shall be so happy as to see him, and say I sent it with all humility and gratitude, as I received it spotless and free from any stain, according to the honourable example of my loyal ancestors."

Then he went to prayer, and my Lord commanded Mr. *Greenhalgh* to read the Decalogue, and at the end of every commandment made his confession, and received absolution and the sacrament; after which he called for pen and ink, and wrote his last speech, and a note to Sir E. S. When we were ready to go he drank a cup of beer to my Lady, Lady *Mary*, and little Masters, and Mr. Arch-Deacon, and all his friends in the Island; and charged me to remember him to them all. He then would have walked into the church to have seen Sir *T. T's* grave, but was not permitted; nor even to ride that day upon his own horse, but set him upon a little galloway, fearing, as they said, the people would rescue him.

As we were going about the middle way to *Bolton*, the wind came easterly, which my Lord observing, called to me and said, "*Baggerley*, there is a great difference betwixt you and me now, for my thoughts are fixed, and I know where I shall rest to night, but you don't; for evrey little alteration of wind or weather moves you of this

world, from one point to another: You must leave me and go to my wife and children in the *Isle of Man*, and are uncertain where you shall be another day; but in the mean time do not leave me if possible, but stay and see me buried as I told you, and acquaint my dear wife and family with our parting."

Copy of the Earl of DERBY'S SPEECH upon the SCAFFOLD, and of some remarkable passages in his Lordship's going to it, as it was taken by Mr. *Greenhalgh* from his Lordship's paper.

Between twelve and one o'clock on Wednesday the 15th of October, 1651, the Earl of *Derby* came to *Bolton* with two troops of horse, and one company of foot: the people every where praying and weeping as he went, even from the castle of *Chester* his prison, to his Scaffold at *Bolton*, where his soul was freed from his prison the body.

His Lordship being to go to a house in *Bolton*, near the cross, and passing by it, said this must be my cross; then alighting and going into a chamber with some of his friends and servants, had, upon request, time allowed him until three o'clock that day, the scaffold being not quite ready, because the people of the town refused to strike a nail, or to give any assistance to it; many of them saying, that since the war began they had suffered many and great losses, but never so great as this, it was the greatest that ever befel them; that the Earl of *Derby* their Lord and patriot, should lose his life there, and in that barbarous manner.

His Lordship as I told you having till three o'clock allowed him, spent all that time with those friends

friends that were with him in praying with them, and telling them how he had lived, how he had prepared for his death, and how the Lord had strengthened him against the terrors of it; and after such and the like words, he desired them to pray with him again, and then giving some good instructions to his son, the Lord *Strange*, he desired to be in private, where we left him with his God, and where he continued on his knees in prayer for a good while; he then called for us again, telling us how willing he was to die; how contented he was to part with this world, and that the fear of death was no great trouble to him since his imprisonment; though he had always two or three soldiers with naked swords night and day in his chamber. Only the care and concern he had for his wife and children, and the fear he had what might become of them after his death, was often in his thoughts, and sat heavy upon him. But now he was satisfied that God would be a husband, and a father unto them; into whose hands and Almighty protection he committed them: and so taking leave of his son, he called for an officer and told him he was ready.

At his going towards the scaffold, the people cried and prayed on every side: His Lordship with a courteous humility said, "Good people I thank you all, I beseech you pray for me to the last; the God of heaven bless you; the Son of God bless you; and God the Holy Ghost fill you with comfort." And coming near the scaffold, he laid his hands upon the ladder, saying, "I am not afraid to go up here, though to my death;" Then walking a while upon the scaffold, he seated himself at the East end of it, and made his address to the people thus:

I am

“ I am come and am content to die in this town, where I endeavoured to come the last time I was in *Lancashire*, as to a place where I promised myself to be welcome; in regard, the people have reason to be satisfied of my love and affection to them, and that they now understand sufficiently that I am not a man of blood, as some have maliciously and falsely slandered me, being acquitted of that by many gentlemen of great worth, who were in the fight in this town; and I am confident there are still some in this place, who can witness my mercy and care in saving the lives of many that day.

“ As for my crime (as some call it) to come into this country with the King, I hope it deserves a better name; for I did it in obedience to his Majesty's commands, whom I hold myself obliged to obey, according to the protestation I took in Parliament in his father's time.

“ I confess I love monarchy, and I love my master *Charles II.* of that name, who I myself proclaimed in this country to be King: The Lord bless him and preserve him. I do believe and assure you he is a virtuous, valiant, and discreet Prince; and I wish so much happiness to the good people of this nation after my death, that he may enjoy his right, and then am well assured that they cannot want theirs under him.

“ I confess here in the presence of God, I always fought for peace, and I had no other reason, for I wanted neither estate nor honour, nor did I seek to enlarge either at the expence of others lives or fortunes, or the invasion of the King's rights and prerogatives; My predecessors were for their duty, loyalty, and good services, raised to a high condition

condition of honour and fortune, as is well known to this country, and it is as well known that I am condemned to die by his Majesty's enemies, by new and unknown laws: The Lord send us our King again: and the Lord send us our religion again; as for that which is practised now, it hath no name, and methinks there is more talk of religion than any real practice or good effect thereof: Truly to me I die for God, the King, and the laws; and this makes me not ashamed of my life nor affraid at my death."

At which words King and laws a trooper said, "We have no King, and will have no Lords;" when some sudden fear or mutiny fell among the soldiers, and his Lordship was interrupted, which some of the officers were much troubled at, and his friends much grieved for: His Lordship having had freedom of speech promised, and seeing their troops scattered in the streets, cutting and slashing the people with their swords, said gentlemen, what is the matter, where is the guilt, I fly not, and here is none to pursue you.

Then his Lordship perceiving that he might not speak freely, turned himself to his servant, and gave him his papers, and commanded him to let the world know what he had to say had he not been interrupted and disturbed, which is as followeth, as it was wrote with his Lordship's own hand.

"My sentence upon which I am brought hither, was by a council of war, which council I had reason to expect would have justified my plea of quarter for life, that being an ancient and an honourable plea amongst soldiers, and not violated that I know of 'till this time; that I am made
the

the first precedent in this case, and I wish that no others suffer in like cases. Now I must die, and that I am ready to die I thank my God, with a good and quiet conscience, without any malice to any, upon any grounds whatsoever; though others would not find mercy for me upon just and fair grounds; but I forgive them, following the example of my Saviour, who prayed for his enemies, and so do I pray for mine.

“As for my faith and religion, thus much I have to say at this time: I profess my faith to be in one only God, and in Jesus Christ his only Son, who died for me and all believers, and from whom I look for my salvation; that is in and through his only merits and sufferings. And I do die a dutiful son of the church of *England*, as it was established in my late Master's reign, and as it is yet professed in the *Isle of Man*, which is no small comfort to me: I thank my God for the quiet of my conscience at this time, and for the assurance of those joys which he hath promised, and are prepared for all those that love, adore, and fear him. Good people pray for me; as I do for you. The God of heaven bless you all, and send you peace and prosperity; that God who is truth itself, bless you with peace and truth. Amen.”

Presently after the uproar was over, his Lordship walking the scaffold, called for his executioner to come to him, and asked to see the axe, saying, “Come friend, give it into my hands, I'll neither hurt thee nor it; and it cannot hurt me, for I am not affraid of it:” So kissing it, gave it to him again, then asked to see the block, which was not quite ready, and turning up his eyes, said, “How long, good Lord! how long?” Then putting his
hand

hand into his pocket, gave the headsmen two pieces of gold, saying, "This is all I have, take it and do thy work well, and when I am upon the block and lifting up my hands, then do your business; but I fear your great coat will hinder or trouble you, pray put it off." Some standing by, bid him ask his Lordship's forgiveness, but being either too fullen or too slow, his Lordship forgave him ere he asked it; and so passing to the other side where his coffin stood, and spying one of his Chaplains on horseback amongst the troopers, said, "Sir remember me to your brother and friend: You see I am ready, but the block is not; but when I am got into my chamber, which I shall not long be out of, (pointing to his coffin) I shall then be at rest, and no longer troubled with such a guard and noise as I have been." And so turning himself again he saw the block, and asked if all was ready; then going to the place where he began his speech, he said, "Good people I thank you for your prayers and your tears, I have heard the one and seen the other;" Then bowing, he turned towards the block, and looking towards the church, he caused the block to be turned and laid that way, saying, "I will look towards thy sanctuary whilst I am here, and hope to live in thy heavenly sanctuary for ever hereafter." Then taking his doublet off, asked how he must lie, saying, "I never saw any one's head cut off, but I'll try how it fits;" So laying him down and stretching himself upon the block, he rose again and caused it to be a little removed, and standing up and looking at the executioner, said, "Be sure you remember what I told you, when I lift up my hands then do your work;" Then looking

on his friends about him, said bowing, "The Lord be with you all, pray for me;" And kneeling upon his knees, made a short and private prayer, ending with the Lord's prayer, and so bowing himself again, said, "The Lord blefs my wife and children, and the Lord blefs us all;" And so laying his neck upon the block, and his arms stretched out, he said these words aloud,

"Blessed be God's holy name for ever and ever. Amen. Let the whole earth be filled with his glory."

And then lifting up his hands the executioner did his work, and we hope and doubt not but God hath done his, saved his soul, and taken it into everlasting felicity: After which nothing was heard in the town but sighs, sobs, and prayers.

When his body was taken up and stripped as he had directed, and laid in his coffin, there was thrown into it the following lines, by an unknown hand:

Wit, bounty, courage, all three here in one lie dead,
A STANLEY's hand, Vere's heart, and Cecill's head.

The next day his corps was carried from *Bolton* to *Ormskirk* and there deposited with his renowned ancestors, to mingle his ashes with theirs: And although we have here attended this noble Lord through the course of many dangers and distractions of life, and brought to lasting rest; yet let us not quite bury him in oblivion, but transmit to posterity the memory of his piety and virtuous life, (as it came to our knowledge after his decease) as we have done his most brave and martial achievements.

Wherein

Wherein give me leave to present the reader with his usual morning prayer in his closet by himself; and his two last letters to his Lady and children in the *Isle of Man*, after sentence of death was passed upon him.

A MORNING PRAYER,

By Lord DERBY.

Oh Almighty Lord God! thou that hearest prayer, assist me now in my devotion, by the help of thy blessed Spirit, make me to have so right a sense of my sins, that I may be humbled before thee, and of thy mercy that I may be raised and comforted by thee: O Lord make me tremble to consider thee a most mighty and terrible God; and make me again rejoice to know thee a most loving and merciful Father. Make me zealous of thy glory, and thankful for thy bounties; make me know my wants and the frailties of my nature; and be earnest in my prayer that thou wilt forgive all my misdeeds: make me in my address to thee to have a present mind and no cares, wandering thoughts, or desires elsewhere, or separate from thee; make me so to pray, that I may obtain of thee mercy, and the relief of all my necessities; for the sake of thy blessed Son and my Redeemer, the holy Jesus." Amen.

A copy of Lord DERBY's last letter to his LADY,
October 12th, 1651, from *Chester*.

My dear Heart,

I have heretofore sent you comfortable lines,
but alas! I have now no word of comfort, saving

to our last and best refuge, which is Almighty God, to whose will we must submit; and when we consider how he hath disposed of these nations and the government thereof; we have no more to do but to lay our hands upon our mouths judging ourselves, and acknowledging our sins, joined with others, to have been the cause of these miseries, and to call on him with tears for mercy.

The Governor of this place, Colonel *Duckenfield*, is General of the forces which are going now against the *Isle of Man*, and however you might do for the present, in time it would be a grievous and troublesome business to resist, especially those that at this hour command three nations; wherefore my advice, notwithstanding my great affection to that place, is, that you would make conditions for yourself and children, servants, and people there, and such as came over with me, to the end you may go to some place of rest where you may not be concerned in war; and taking thought of your poor children, you may in some sort provide for them; then prepare yourself to come to your friends above, in that blessed place where bliss is, and no mingling of opinions.

I conjure you, my dearest heart, by all those graces which God hath given you, that you exercise your patience in this great and strange trial: If harm come to you then I am dead indeed, and until then I shall live in you, who are truly the best part of myself; when there is no such as I in being, then look upon yourself and my poor children, then take comfort and God will bless you.

I acknowledge the great goodness of God, to have given me such a wife as you; so great an honour

honour to my family; so excellent a companion to me, so pious, so much of all that can be said of good, I must confess it impossible to say enough thereof: I ask God pardon with all my soul, that I have not been enough thankful for so great a benefit, and when I have done any thing at any time that might justly offend you, with joined hands I also ask you pardon.

I have no more to say to you at this time, than my prayers for the Almighty's blessing to you, my dear *Mall*, *Ned*, and *Billy*. Amen, sweet Jesus.

A Copy of Lord DERBY's last letter to Lady MARY, Mr. EDWARD, and Mr. WILLIAM.

My dear *Mall*, *Ned*, and *Billy*,

I remember well how sad you were to part with me, but now I fear your sorrow will be greatly increased to be informed that you can never see me more in this world; but I charge you all to strive against too great a sorrow, you are all of you of that temper that it would do you much harm; and my desires and prayers to God are, that you may have a happy life; let it be as holy a life as you can, and as little sinful as you can avoid or prevent.

I can well now give you that counsel, having in myself at this time so great a sense of the vanities of my life, which fill my soul with sorrow; yet I rejoice to remember that when I have blessed God with pious devotion, it has been most delightful to my soul, and must be my eternal happiness.

Love

Love the Arch-Deacon, he will give you good precepts: Obey your mother with chearfulness and grieve her not, for she is your example, your nursery, your counsellor, your all, under God; there never was, nor ever can be a more deserving person. — I am called away, and this is the last I shall write to you. The Lord my God bless and guard you from all evil: So prays your father at this time, whose sorrow is inexorable to part with *Mall, Ned, and Billy*. Remember,

DERBY.

The taking away the blood of the noble Peer aforesaid, might have been esteemed by the world a sacrifice sufficient to have attoned for any supposed offences given by his Lady and innocent children, who were in the *Isle of Man*, at the time of his being taken out of the world, where it might have been concluded they were in a place of quiet and security.

But even this place of retirement was no safeguard to them, for the wicked and restless malice of their persecutors *Bradshaw, Rigby, and Birch*, found them out there, and struck at his surviving and afflicted Lady and children, endeavouring and using all their power, to eradicate them and the whole noble family, from the face of the earth. And for this purpose had corrupted one Capt. *Christian*, whom his Lordship had brought up from a child, and on his coming over to attend his Majesty King *Charles II.* entrusted him with the command of all the foot soldiers in the island, as a guard and security of the place, and his distressed Lady and children, whom he was charged to take especial care of.

But

But the said *Christian* proving a most perfidious and treacherous villain, had corrupted the soldiers of both the castles, as well as those under his command, promising to deliver up the island to the Parliament's ships and forces, when they appeared against it.

Upon which Colonel *Duckenfield* and *Birch*, having commission from the junto at *London*, with ten ships appeared before it, and summoned the heroic Lady *Derby* to deliver up the island to them for the use of the Parliament. Her Ladyship having Sir *Thomas Armstrong* with her in castle *Rusben*, whom her Lord had made Governor there, and his Brother Governor of *Peel Castle*, and being confident of the integrity of *Christian* and the islanders under him, refused to surrender without licence obtained from the King.

But *Christian* having prepared his countrymen for the execution of his treachery, that very night suffered the forces to land without resistance, who siezed upon the Lady and her children, with the Governors of both the castles, and the next morning brought them prisoners to *Duckenfield* and *Birch*, who told her Ladyship that *Christian* had surrendered the island upon articles, which her Ladyship desired to be favoured with a sight of, and on perusal whereof she observed, that the *Isle of Man* was only yielded up, and that the islands about it were not included; upon which she requested of Colonel *Duckenfield* and *Birch*, but especially of *Christiau*, who had formed and acquiesced to those articles, that she and her children might have leave to retire to *Peel Castle*, situate in an island separated from the main island by the sea; from whence she proposed she might in
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some little time, get over to her friends in *France* or *Holland*, or some other place of rest and refuge.

But she was utterly denied that favour by her hard hearted and inhuman enemies, neither regard to her sex, compassion to her children, honour to her quality, nor even common civility, found any place for her relief. And thus this great and excellent Lady, whose religion, virtue, and prudence, were not inferior to any woman upon record, is become a captive and prisoner to her most barbarous, malignant, and unmerciful enemies; and she that brought fifty thousand pounds in portion to this nation, has not now a morsel of bread for herself and desolate children, but what was the charity of her impoverished and ruined friends.

After which she and her children with her, continued prisoners in the island until his Majesty's happy restoration, (enduring all those sufferings with a generous resolution and christian patience) and then expecting justice against her Lord's murderers, her son restored to the sequestered estates of his father, and some compensation for the immense losses and devastation of her family; but failing of all, her great heart (overwhelmed with grief and sorrow) burst in pieces, and she died at *Knowsley-House*, with that christian temper and exemplary piety, in which she had always lived.

The noble Lady who we have just attended to her grave, had issue to her Lord three sons,—*Charles*, the eldest, who succeeded him, and *Edward* and *William*, who both died young and unmarried; also three daughters, Lady *Henrietta Maria*, the eldest, Lady *Catherine*, and Lady *Amelia*, who were all married and died without issue except the youngest.

AN
ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE
OF
OLIVER CROMWELL.

OLIVER CROMWELL was the son of Mr. *Robert Cromwell* who was the second son of Sir *Henry Cromwell*, of *Hinchinbroke*, in the county of *Huntingdon*, by *Elizabeth* daughter of Sir *Richard Stewart*, of the *Isle of Ely*, Knight. He was born in the parish of *St. John*, in the ancient borough of *Huntington*, April 25th, 1599, in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. He was christened in the parish church on the 29th of the same month, when his uncle Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, a very worthy gentleman, gave him his name.

He was sent to school under the care of Dr. *Thomas Beard*, master of the free-school at *Huntingdon*. He was from thence removed to *Sidney-College, Cambridge*, where he was admitted, April 23d, 1616, under the tuition of Mr. *Henry Howlett*, who by a strict attention to his pupil's disposition, quickly discovered that he was less addicted to speculation than to action. His father dying, he returned home, where his conduct was far enough from being regular, insomuch that it gave his mother, who was a notable and prudent woman, much uneasiness. She was advised, by some

near relations, to send him up to *London*, and to place him in *Lincoln's-Inn*, which she accordingly did, but without any extraordinary effects, since it served only to bring him acquainted with the vices of the town, by way of addition to those to which he had been addicted in the country. It does not at all appear that he applied himself to the study of the law, which was what his friends aimed at; on the contrary, he continued to pursue his pleasures, and to give himself up to wine, women, and play; in which last though sometimes fortunate, yet, taking all his expences together, they so much exceeded his income, that he quickly dissipated all his father left him. But after a few years spent in this manner, he saw plainly the consequence of his follies, renounced them suddenly, and began to lead a very grave and sober life, and entered into a close friendship with several eminent divines, who looked upon his reformation as very extraordinary, and spoke of him as a man of sense and great abilities.

As he was related to Mr. *Hampden*, of *Buckinghamshire*, to the *Barringtons* of *Essex*, and other considerable families, they interested themselves in his favour, and were very desirous of seeing him settled in the world, in order to which a marriage was proposed, which soon after took effect. The lady he married was *Elizabeth* daughter of Sir *James Bouchier*, Knight, a woman of spirit and parts, and being descended from an ancient family, did not want a considerable portion of pride. Mr. *Cromwell* soon after returned to his own country, and settled at *Huntington* till the death of his uncle Sir *Thomas Stewart*, who left him an estate worth near 500 l. a year, which induced him to return

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into the *Ile of Ely*. It was about this time he began to converse mostly with them who were stiled puritans, and by degrees affected their notions with great warmth and violence.

He was elected a member of the third parliament in the reign of *Charles I.* which met January 20th, 1628, and was of the committee for religion, where he distinguished himself by his zeal against popery, and by complaining against Dr. *Neile*, then bishop of *Winchester*, licensing books which had a very dangerous tendency.

After the dissolution of that Parliament he returned again into the country, where he continued to express much concern for religion, to frequent silent ministers, and to invite them often to lectures and sermons at his house, by which he again brought his affairs into a very indifferent situation, so that he judged it necessary to try what industry might do towards repairing those breaches; which led him to take a farm at *St. Ives*, and this he kept about five years; though indeed instead of repairing, it helped to run out the rest of his fortune. He had prayers in the morning and afternoon, and he gave public notice, that he was ready to make restitution to any from whom he had won money at play: and he actually did return 30*l.* to Mr. *Calton*, from whom he won it several years before.

When the Earl of *Bedford* and some other persons of high distinction, who had estates in *Lincolnshire*, were desirous of having the fens drained, *Cromwell* violently opposed it, which gave occasion to Mr. *Hampden* to recommend him to his friends in Parliament, as a person capable of conducting great things. He had the address to get

himself chosen for *Cambridge*, a place wherein he was not known, and was very zealous in promoting the remonstrance which was carried on November 14th, 1641, which laid the foundation of the civil war. He told Lord *Falkland*, that if the remonstrance had not been carried, he was resolved to have converted the small remains of his estate into ready money the next day, and to have quitted the kingdom, and this he affirmed was the sentiment also of some of the most considerable men of that party.

In 1642 *Cromwell* got a Captains commission from the Commons, and immediately raised a troop of horse in his own country. They consisted of select men, whose bravery he proved by the following stratagem. He placed about twelve of them in an ambuscade, near one of the King's garrisons, who advancing furiously towards the body, as if they had been of the enemy's party, put some of their raw companions to the flight. These he immediately cashiered, and filled their places with others of more courage.

The valour and heroic spirit that *Cromwell* discovered in every enterprize that he was engaged in, procured him the thanks of the House of Commons, and soon after recommended him to the dignity of a Colonel. In this post he raised 1000 horse by his own interest of his own countrymen, a number of them freeholders, and freeholder's sons, who, upon matter of conscience, engaged in the quarrel.

It was said at a general muster in 1644, no men appeared so full, and well armed, and civil as Colonel *Cromwell's* horse did. He used his men to look after, feed and dress them daily, and, when

when it was necessary, to lie together on the ground; and besides taught them to clean and keep their arms bright, and have them ready for service; to chuse the best armour, and to arm themselves to the best advantage. Trained up in this kind of military exercise, they excelled all their fellow-soldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over the enemy. These were afterwards preferred to the commanders and officers in the army, and their places filled up with lusty strong fellows, whom he brought up in the same strictness of discipline.

But the fullest and best authority for what is here advanced, may be found in *Cromwell's* own words, as quoted by the Rev. Mr. *Peck*.

“ I was a person that from my first employment was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater. From my first being a Captain of a troop of horse, I did labour as well as I could, to discharge my trust; and God blessed me as it pleased him. I had a very worthy friend then, Mr. *John Hampden*, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all. At my first going out into this engagement, I saw our men beaten on every hand: I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord *Effex's* army of some new regiments: and I told him it would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in, as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. Your troops, said I, are most of them old decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality; and do you think that the spirit of such base
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and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit, and (take it not ill what I say) of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go; or else I am sure you will be beaten still. I told him so. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. I told him, I could do somewhat in it. And I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did. And from that day forward they never were beaten, but whenever they engaged against the enemy, they beat continually."

In the famous battles of *Marston-Moor* and *Naseby*, it was universally allowed that *Cromwell's* cavalry had the greatest share in gaining the victories. 'Tis affirmed that in the action at *Naseby*, a commander of the King's knowing *Cromwell*, advanced briskly from the head of his troops, to exchange a single bullet with him, and was with equal bravery encountered by him, both sides forbearing to come in; till their pistols being discharged, the cavalier, with a slanting back blow of a broad sword, chanced to cut the ribbon that held *Cromwell's* murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head; and now just as he was going to repeat his stroke, *Cromwell's* party came in and rescued him; and one of them alighting, threw up his head-piece into his saddle, which he hastily catching, clapped it on the wrong way, and so bravely fought with it the rest of the day, which proved so very fortunate on his side.

Other men, in what profession soever, have generally advanced very slowly, or by some other means

means than pure merit, to the highest dignities. But this was not *Cromwell's* case: His advances from a Captain to a Lieutenant-General were so sudden, that they could not but surprise all that were witnesses to them.

In the winter when the Parliament sat, *Cromwell* and his friends carried what was then called, the self-denying ordinance, that excluded the members of either House from having any command in the army; however *Cromwell* was at first occasionally, and at last absolutely exempted upon the introduction of the new model, as it was called. The chief command of the army was given to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; and from Lieutenant-General of the horse, *Cromwell* became Lieutenant-General of the army, of which, while another had the title he seems to have had the direction.

In 1646 the Earl of *Essex* died suddenly. The affairs of the King were at this time in a ruinous situation; the few places that held out for him were surrendered, and his Majesty threw himself into the hands of the *Scots*, who soon after delivered him to the *English* Parliament, who secured him in *Holmby-House*, where he was seized the next year by the army, but made his escape from *Hampton-court* to the *Isle Wight*, remaining there until he was brought up to *London* in order to his trial. During all this time *Cromwell* was managing the Parliament and the army, who were both jealous of him in their turns, and both of them, in their turns outwitted by him.

The *Scots* about this time invaded *England* under Duke *Hamilton*, who had carried the command from the Marquis of *Argyle*, and was for restoring the King without conditions. *Cromwell* was ordered

dered to advance against these, and fight them. Accordingly, having completed the reduction of *Wales*, he marched towards the north with all his forces; sending to Major-General *Lambert*, who was already in those parts, to avoid engaging until the whole army came together. While *Cromwell* was on this march, a charge of high-treason was drawn up against him by Major *Huntington*, which proved ineffectual in the House of Commons. At last, having joined *Lambert*, he met the *Scots* on the 17th of August, near *Preston* in *Lancashire*. The *English* under *Langdale*, who had joined the *Scots*, behaved resolutely, but were so pressed upon by *Cromwell's* men, that they were obliged to retreat: which the *Scots* perceiving, they soon followed their example, and left *Cromwell* master of the field; who pursuing them closely, slew many and took abundance of prisoners, with all their baggage, artillery, and ammunition. The next morning marching towards *Warrington*, he made a stand at a pass, which for many hours was resolutely disputed with him; but at last he drove on the enemy, slew 1000 of them, and took 2000 prisoners. He was again opposed at *Warrington-bridge* by Lieutenant-General *Bayley*, who was obliged to surrender himself prisoner of war, and all his men, to the number of 4000, with arms and ammunition. As for Duke *Hamilton*, he fled from place to place with about 3000 horse, until he was taken at *Uttoxeter* in *Staffordshire*, with all his men, and sent prisoner to *Windsor-Castle*. Thus the whole *Scots* army, which had occasioned so much terror, was totally routed and defeated by *Cromwell*, with scarce a third part of the same number of forces, very few
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of which were lost in this important expedition. General *Munro*, who was come into *England* as a reserve to the Duke, hearing of what had happened, and that *Cromwell* was advancing to prosecute the advantage, thought it his best way to march back again with all expedition.

Having rid the nation of this great fear, and the north in particular of the burthen it groaned under through the oppression of the *Scots*, *Cromwell* resolved to enter *Scotland* itself, that he might effectually root out whatever threatened any further disturbance. In his way he retook *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, both which had revolted from their former obedience. And just upon entering the kingdom, he ordered proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment, that no one upon pain of death, should force from the *Scots* any of their cattle and goods. He also declared to the *Scots* themselves, "That he came with an army to free their kingdom from the *Hamiltonian* party, who endeavoured to involve both the nations in blood; without any intention to invade their liberties, or infringe their privileges." His proceedings were agreeable to this declaration; for marching to *Edinburgh*, he was received with great solemnity by the Marquis of *Argyle*, and others; and having dispossessed the *Hamilton* party of all public trusts, he returned to *England* loaded with marks of honour, leaving behind him, at the request of the *Argyle* party, three regiments of horse under Major-General *Lambert*.

Cromwell, crowned with success, returned in triumph to *London*, where he was met by the Speaker of the House, accompanied by the Mayor of *London*, and the magistrates, in all their formalities.

malities. His first care was to take advantage of his late successes, by depressing the *Scots*, who had so lately withstood the work of the Gospel, as he called it. An act was passed for abolishing royalty in *Scotland*, and annexing that kingdom, as a conquered province, to the *English* commonwealth. It was empowered, however, to send some members to the *English* parliament. Judges were appointed to distribute justice; and the people of that country, now freed from the tyranny of the ecclesiastics, were not much dissatisfied with their present government. The prudent conduct of *Monk*, who was left by *Cromwell* to complete their subjection, served much to reconcile the minds of the people, harassed with dissensions, of which they never well understood the cause.

In this manner the *English* parliament, by the means of *Cromwell*, spread their uncontested authority over all the *British* dominions. *Ireland* was totally subdued by *Ireton* and *Ludlow*. All the settlements in *America*, that had declared for the royal cause, were obliged to submit: *Jersey*, *Guernsey*, *Sicily*, and the *Isle of Man*, were brought easily under subjection. Thus mankind saw, with astonishment, a parliament composed of sixty or seventy obscure and illiterate members, governing a great empire with unanimity and success. Without any acknowledged subordination, except a council of state consisting of thirty-eight, to whom all addresses were made, they levied armies, maintained fleets, and gave laws to the neighbouring powers of Europe. The finances were managed with œconomy and exactness. Few private persons became rich by the plunder of the public; the revenues of the crown, the lands of the bishops,

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and a tax of an hundred and twenty thousand pounds each month, supplied the wants of the government, and gave vigour to all their proceedings.

The parliament having thus reduced their native dominions to perfect obedience, next resolved to chastise the *Dutch*, who had given but very slight causes of complaint. It happened that one Doctor *Doriflaus*, who was of the number of the late King's judges, being sent by the parliament as their envoy to *Holland*, was assassinated by one of the royal party, who had taken refuge there. Some time after, also, Mr. *St. John*, appointed their ambassador to that court, was insulted by the friends of the prince of *Orange*. These were thought motives sufficient to induce the commonwealth of *England* to declare war against them.

The parliament's chief dependence lay in the activity and courage of *Blake*, their admiral, who though he had not embarked in naval command till late in life, yet surpassed all that went before him in courage and dexterity. On the other side, the *Dutch* opposed to him their famous Admiral *Van Tromp*, to whom they never since produced an equal. Many were the engagements between these celebrated admirals, and various was their success. Sea-fights, in general, seldom prove decisive; and the vanquished are soon seen to make head against the victors. Several dreadful encounters, therefore, rather served to shew the excellence of the admirals than to determine their superiority. The *Dutch*, however, who felt many great disadvantages by the loss of their trade, and by the total suspension of their fisheries, were willing to treat for a peace; but the parliament gave

them a very unfavourable answer. It was the policy of that body to keep their navy on foot as long as they could; rightly judging, that while the force of the nation was exerted by sea, it would diminish the power of General *Cromwell* by land, which was now become very formidable to them.

This great aspirer, however quickly perceived their designs; and from the first saw that they dreaded his growing power, and wished its diminution. All his measures were conducted with a bold intrepidity that marked his character; and he now saw that it was not necessary to wear the mask of subordination any longer. Secure, therefore in the attachment of the army, he resolved to make another daring effort; and persuaded the officers to present a petition for payment of arrears and redress of grievances, which he knew would be rejected by the commons with disdain. The petition was soon drawn up and presented, in which the officers, after demanding their arrears, desired the parliament to consider how many years they had sat, and what professions they had formerly made of their intentions to new model the house, and establish freedom on the broadest basis.

The house was highly offended at the presumption of the army, although they had seen, but too lately, that their own power was wholly founded on that very presumption. They appointed a committee to prepare an act, ordaining that all persons who presented such petitions for the future, should be deemed guilty of high treason. To this the officers made a very warm remonstrance, and the parliament as warm a reply; while the breach between them every moment grew wider. This was what *Cromwell* had long wished

wished, and had long foreseen. He was sitting in council with his officers, when informed of the subject on which the house was deliberating; upon which he rose up in the most seeming fury, and turning to Major *Vernon*, cried out, "That he was compelled to do a thing that made the very hair of his head to stand on end." Then hastening to the house with three hundred soldiers, and with the marks of violent indignation on his countenance he entered. Stamping with his foot, which was the signal for the soldiers to enter, the place was immediately filled with armed men. Then addressing himself to the members: "For shame, said he, get you gone. Give place to honest men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament; I tell you, you are no longer a parliament; the Lord has done with you." Sir *Harry Vane* exclaiming against this conduct: "Sir *Harry*, cried *Cromwell* with a loud voice, O Sir *Harry Vane*, the Lord deliver me from Sir *Harry Vane*." Taking hold of *Martin* by the cloak, thou art a whore-master; to another, thou art an adulterer; to a third, thou art a drunkard; and to a fourth, thou art a glutton. "It is you continued he to the members, that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Then pointing to the mace, "Take away, cried he, that bauble." After which turning out all the members, and clearing the hall, he ordered the doors to be locked, and putting the key in his pocket, returned to *Whitehall*.

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The persons he pitched upon for his next parliament, were the lowest, meanest, and the most ignorant among the citizens, and the very dregs of the fanatics. He was well apprized that during the administration of such a groupe of characters he alone must govern, or that they must soon throw up the reins of government, which they were unqualified to guide. Accordingly, their practice justified his sagacity. One of them particularly, who was called *Praise God Barebone*, a canting leather seller, gave his name to this odd assembly, and it was called *Barebone's* parliament.

The very vulgar began now to exclaim against so foolish a legislature; and they themselves seemed not insensible of the ridicule which every day was thrown out against them. Accordingly by concert, they met earlier than the rest of their fraternity; and observing to each other that this parliament had sat long enough, they hastened to *Cromwell*, with *Rouse* their speaker at their head, and into his hands they resigned the authority with which he had invested them.

Cromwell accepted their resignation with pleasure; but being told that some of the number were refractory, he sent Colonel *White* to clear the house of such as ventured to remain there. They had placed one *Moyer* in the chair by the time that the Colonel had arrived; and he being asked by the Colonel, "What they did there?" *Moyer* replied very gravely that they were seeking the Lord. "Then you may go elsewhere," cried *White*; for to my certain knowledge the Lord has not been here these many years.

This shadow of a Parliament being dissolved, the officers, by their own authority, declared *Crom-*
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well Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, being then in the 54th year of his age. He applied himself immediately to the settling of public affairs both foreign and domestic. He chose his council among his officers, who had been the companions of his dangers and his victories, to each of whom he assigned a pension of one thousand pounds a-year. He took care to have his troops, upon whose fidelity he depended for support, paid a month in advance; the magazines were also well provided, and the public treasure managed with frugality and care: while his activity, vigilance, and resolution were such, that he discovered every conspiracy against his person, and every plot for an insurrection before they took effect.

He filled the courts at *Westminster* with able judges; professed an unalterable resolution of maintaining liberty of conscience, and dismissed from their command such officers as he could not confide in. He gave the command of all the forces in *Scotland* to General *Monk*, and sent his own son, *Henry*, to govern *Ireland*. He, by an ordinance, dated April 12th, 1654, united *Eng.*, *land* and *Scotland*, fixing the number of representatives for the latter at thirty; and soon after did the same for *Ireland*. He shewed a great regard for justice, in causing the brother of the Ambassador from *Portugal* to be executed for murder. He called a Parliament to meet on September 3d, which was immediately opened on that day, to which the Protector went in great state; he received the house of commons in the painted chamber, where he made them a very long speech. When they came to their house, after electing
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Mr. *William Lenthall* their Speaker, they fell to debating whether the supreme legislative power of the kingdom should be in a single person, or a parliament. This so alarmed the Protector, that, on the 12th. of the same month, he caused a guard to be set at the painted chamber, where he gave them a sharp reproof, and none were permitted to go into the house afterward, before they had taken an oath to be faithful to the Protector, and his government. While the parliament was sitting, the Protector, whom the Duke of *Holstein* had presented with a set of *Friesland* horses, would needs drive Secretary *Thurloe* in his coach, drawn by these horses, round *Hyde-park*; but the horses proving ungovernable, threw his Highness out of the box, and in his fall one of his pocket pistols went off, but he received no hurt at all. The Protector finding this Parliament would give him no money, and that they were about to take away his power, dissolved them.

Although the Protector proceeded in an arbitrary manner against those who contested his authority, yet in all other cases, where the life of his jurisdiction was not concerned, he seemed to have a great reverence for the law, and the constitution, rarely interposing between party and party; and to do him justice, there appeared in his government many things that were truly great and praise-worthy. Justice as well distributive as commutative, was by him restored almost to its ancient grace and splendor; the judges executed their office without covetousness, according to law and equity, and the laws except some few, where himself was immediately concerned, being
permitted

permitted to have their full force upon all, without impediment or delay; mens manners, outwardly at least, became likewise reformed, either by removing the incentives to luxury, or by means of the ancient laws now revived, and put in execution. There was a strict discipline kept in his court, where drunkenness, whoredom, and extortion, were either banished or severely rebuked. Trade began to flourish and prosper, and most things to put on a happy and promising aspect. The Protector also shewed a great regard to the advancement of learning, and was a great encourager of it. The university of *Oxford* in particular, acknowledged his Highness' respect to them, in continuing their chancellor, and bestowing on the public library there four and twenty Greek manuscripts, and munificently allowing an hundred pounds a-year to a divinity reader. He also ordered a scheme to be drawn for founding and endowing a college at *Durham* for the convenience of the northern students. Towards all who complied with his pleasure, and courted his protection, he manifested great civility, generosity, and bounty. No man affected to seem more tender of the clergy than himself, though he would not list himself in any particular sect; saying, "It was his only wish and desire to see the church in peace, and that all would gather into one sheep-fold, under one shepherd, Jesus Christ, and mutually love one another." Though the public use of the common prayer was denied to the episcopal party, yet he allowed the use of their rites in private houses; and milder courses were taken than under the tyranny of others."

His management of foreign affairs well corresponded

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responded with his character, and were attended with success. The *Dutch* having been humbled by repeated defeats, and totally abridged in their commercial concerns, were obliged at last to sue for peace, which he gave them on terms rather too favourable. He insisted on their paying deference to the *British* flag. He compelled them to abandon the interests of the king, and to pay eighty-five thousand pounds as an indemnification for former expences, and to restore the *English* East-India Company a part of those dominions, of which they had been dispossessed by the *Dutch* during the former reign in that distant part of the world.

He was not less successful in his negotiations with the court of *France*. Cardinal *Mazarine*, by whom the affairs of that kingdom were conducted, deemed it necessary to pay deference to the Protector; and desirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, submitted to *Cromwell's* imperious character, and thus procured ends equally beneficial to both.

The court of *Spain* was not less assiduous in its endeavours to gain his friendship, but was not so successful. This vast monarchy, which but a few years before had threatened the liberties of Europe, was now reduced so low as to be scarce able to defend itself. *Cromwell*, however, who knew nothing of foreign politics, still continued to regard its power with an eye of jealousy, and came into an association with *France* to depress it still more. He lent that court a body of six thousand men to attack the *Spanish* dominions in the *Netherlands*; and on obtaining a signal victory by his assistance at *Dunes*, the *French* put *Dunkirk*, which

which they had just taken from the *Spaniards* into his hands, as a reward for his attachment.

But it was by sea that he humbled the power of *Spain* with still more effectual success. *Blake*, who had long made himself formidable to the *Dutch*, and whose fame spread over Europe, now became still more dreadful to the *Spanish* monarchy. He sailed with a fleet into the *Mediterranean*, whither, since the crusades, no *English* fleet had ever ventured to advance. He there conquered all that ventured to oppose him. Casting anchor before *Leghorn*, he demanded and obtained satisfaction for some injuries which the *English* commerce had suffered from the Duke of *Tuscany*. He next sailed to *Algiers*, and compelled the *Dey* to make peace, and to restrain his pyratrical subjects from further injuring the *English*. He then went to *Tunis*, and having made the same demands, he was desired by the *Dey* of that place to look at the two castles, *Porto Farino*, and *Goletta*, and do his utmost. *Blake* shewed him that he was not long in accepting the challenge; he entered the harbour, burned the shipping there, and then sailed out triumphantly to pursue his voyage. At *Cadiz*, he took two galleons valued at near two million pieces of eight. At the *Canaries*, he burned a *Spanish* fleet of sixteen ships, and returning home to *England* to enjoy the fame of his noble actions, as he came within sight of his native country he expired. This gallant man, though he fought for an usurper, yet was averse to his cause; he was a zealous republican in principle, and his aim was to serve his country. "It is still our duty, he would say to the seamen, to fight

for our country into whatever hands the government may fall."

The Lord *Clarendon* says, "*Blake* was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest, that the naval science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ships and his men out of danger, which had been held in former times, a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship, had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first who infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight on shore as well as upon water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements."

Blake had a very great regard for the honour of his country, and the *English* dominion of the seas. One instance of his care to preserve this honour, mentioned by Bishop *Burnet*, cannot be omitted. He says, that *Blake* happening to be at *Malaga* with the fleet, before *Cromwell* made war upon *Spain*, some of the seamen going ashore, met the host, as it was carrying about, and not only refused to pay any homage to it, but laughed at those that did. Whereupon one of the priests stirred up the people to resent this affront; and
so

so they fell upon them, and beat them severely. The seamen returning to their ship, and complaining of the usage they had met with, *Blake* soon dispatched a trumpeter to the Viceroy, to demand the priest who had been the occasion of it; to which the Viceroy returned this answer, "That he had no authority over the priests, and so could not dispose of him." But *Blake* sent him word again, "That he would not enquire who had power to send the priest to him; but if he were not sent within three hours, he would burn their town." And so being unable to resist, they sent the priest to him; who justifying himself upon the rude behaviour of the seamen, *Blake* answered, "that if he had sent a complaint to him of it, he would have punished them severely, since he would not suffer his men to affront the established religion of any place; but he took it ill, that he set on the *Spaniards* to do it; for he would have all the world know, that an *Englishman* was only to be punished by an *Englishman*." And so he civilly treated the priest, and dismissed him, being satisfied that he had him at his mercy. *Cromwell* was exceedingly pleased with this, and read the letters in council with great satisfaction, telling them, "he hoped he should make the name of an *Englishman* as great as ever that of a *Roman* had been.

At the same time that *Blake's* expeditions were going forward, there was another carried on under the command of Admiral *Pen* and *Venables*, with about four thousand land forces, to attack the island of *Hispaniola*. Failing however in this, and being driven off the place by the *Spaniards*, they steered to *Jamaica*, which was surrendered to them

them without a blow. So little was thought of the importance of this conquest, that upon the return of the expedition, *Pen* and *Venables* were sent to the tower for their failure in the principal object of their expedition.

Cromwell was perhaps as assiduous to assert and maintain the sovereignty of the sea, and the honour of the *English* nation, as any crowned head that before or since swayed the *British* sceptre. In the histories of his time we are told, that an *English* merchant ship was taken in the chops of the channel, carried into *St. Maloes*, and there confiscated upon some groundless pretence. As soon as the master of the ship, who was an honest Quaker, got home, he presented a petition to the Protector in council, setting forth his case, and praying for redress. Upon hearing the petition, the Protector told his council, he would take that affair upon himself, and ordered the man to attend him next morning. He examined him strictly as to all the circumstances of his case, and finding by his answers that he was a plain honest man, and that he had been concerned in no unlawful trade, he asked him if he would go to *Paris* with a letter? The man answered he could. Well then, says the Protector, prepare for your journey and come to me to-morrow morning. Next morning he gave him a letter to Cardinal *Mazarine*, and told him he must stay but three days for an answer. The answer I mean, says he, is, the full value of what you might have made of your ship and cargo; and tell the Cardinal, that if it is not paid in three days, you have express orders from me to return home. The honest, blunt Quaker, we may suppose, followed his instructions to a title; but

but the Cardinal, according to the manner of ministers when they are any way pressed, began to shuffle: therefore the Quaker returned, as he was bid. As soon as the Protector saw him, he asked, "Well, friend, have you got your money?" And upon the man's answering he had not, the Protector told him, "Then leave your direction with my Secretary, and you shall soon hear from me." Upon this occasion, this great man did not stay to negotiate, or to explain, by long tedious memorials, the reasonableness of his demand. No, though there was a *French* minister residing here, he did not so much as acquaint him with the story, but immediately sent a man of war or two to the channel, with orders to seize every *French* ship they could meet with. Accordingly, they returned in a few days with two or three *French* prizes, which *Cromwell* ordered to be immediately sold, and out of the produce, he paid the Quaker what he demanded for the ship and cargo. Then he sent for the *French* minister, gave him account of what had happened, and told him there was a balance, which if he pleased, should be paid in to him, to the end that he might deliver it to those of his countrymen, who were the owners of the *French* ships, that had been so taken and sold.

This was *Cromwell's* manner of negotiating; this was the method he took for reparation. And what was the consequence? it produced no war between the two nations. No, it made the *French* government terribly afraid of giving him the least offence; and while he lived, they took special care that no injuries should be done to any subjects of *Great-Britain*. This shews that *Oliver Cromwell* had a genius and a capacity for government; and
however

however unjustly he acquired his power, it is certain that this nation was as much respected abroad, and flourished as much at home, under his government, as it ever did under any government.

The secret correspondence *Cromwell* kept up, from his first appearance on the theatre of public affairs, was what every one wondered at. When he was only Deputy in *Ireland*, he stopped the Lord *Broghill* in *London*, as he was going over to the King, to take out a commission against the parliament, and so wrought on him, that he went over in the parliament's service, and continued faithful to *Cromwell* ever after. And when he was mounted to the summit of authority, he brought over a company of *Jews* into *England*, and gave them toleration to build a synagogue; because he knew by reason of their negotiation of money in all countries, that they were excellently fitted for the purpose of bringing him intelligence. It was by the information of one of those, who came to him in a poor beggarly habit, that he intercepted a large sum of money, which the *Spaniards*, who were then at war with him, were sending over in a *Dutch* ship, to pay their army in *Flanders*. He also prevailed on Sir *Richard Willis*, Chancellor *Hyde's* great confidant, to let him know all that passed in King *Charles's* court: pretending that his aim in discovering the plots of the royalists, for whom he had a great tenderness, was only to disconcert them, that none of them might suffer for their rashness. This practice of Sir *Richard* was not discovered till after the Protector's death, when he still continued his correspondence with *Thurloe*, whose under-secretary,

tary, *Moreland*, detected him to the King. There could not be any considerable person in *London*, of the royal party, but *Cromwell* immediately knew of it. He once told Lord *Broghill*, that there was a friend of his in town; and upon his asking who, said; my Lord *Ormond*; mentioning the day when he arrived, and the place where he now was. *Broghill* had leave from the Protector to go to *Ormond*, and inform him of all this, that he might make his escape; which was done accordingly.

In matters of greatest moment, the Protector trusted none but his secretary *Thurloe*, and oftentimes not him. An instance of which *Thurloe* used to tell of himself; "that he was once commanded by *Cromwell* to go at a certain hour to *Gray's-Inn*, and at such a place deliver a bill of 20,000*l.* payable to the bearer at *Genoa*, to a man he should find walking in such a habit and posture as he described him, without speaking one word." Which accordingly *Thurloe* did: and never knew to his dying day, either the person or the occasion.

At another time the Protector coming late at night to *Thurloe's* office, and beginning to give him directions about something of great importance and secrecy, he took notice that Mr. *Moreland*, afterward Sir *Samuel Moreland*, was in the room, which he had not observed before; and fearing he might have overheard their discourse, though he pretended to be asleep upon his desk, he drew a poniard, which he always carried under his coat, and was going to dispatch *Moreland* upon the spot; if *Thurloe* had not with great intreaties prevailed upon him to desist, assuring him

that *Morland* had sat up two nights together, and was now certainly fast asleep.

There was not the smallest accident that befel King *Charles II.* in his exile, but he knew it perfectly well; insomuch that having given leave to an *English* nobleman to travel, upon condition he should not see *Charles Stuart*; he asked him at his return, "If he had punctually obeyed his commands?" Which the other affirming he had, *Cromwell* replied, "It is true you did not see him; for to keep your word with me, you agreed to meet in the dark, the candles being put out for that end." And withal told him all the particulars that passed in conversation betwixt the King and him at their meeting.

That he had spies about King *Charles* was not strange: but his intelligence reached the most secret transactions of other princes, and when the matter was communicated to but very few: of which we have a notable instance in the business of *Dunkirk*. There was an article in the treaty between *France* and the Protector, that if *Dunkirk* was taken, it should immediately be delivered up to the *English*; and his ambassador *Lockhart* had orders to take possession of it accordingly. When the *French* army, being joined by the *English* auxiliaries, was in its march to invest the town, *Cromwell* sent one morning for the *French* ambassador to *Whitehall*, and upbraided him publicly for his master's designed breach of promise, in giving secret orders to the *French* general to keep possession of *Dunkirk*, in case it was taken, contrary to the treaty between them. The ambassador protested he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begged leave to assure him, that there

there was no such thing thought of. Upon which *Cromwell* pulled a paper out of his pocket, "Here says he, is a copy of the Cardinal's order: and I desire you to dispatch immediately an exprefs, to let him know, that I am not to be imposed upon; and that if he deliver not up the keys of the town of *Dunkirk* to *Lackbart* within an hour after it be taken, tell him I will come in person, and demand them at the gates of *Paris*." There were but four persons said to be privy to this order, the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal, the Marechal de *Turenne*, and a secretary, whose name, says *Wellwood*, it is not fit to mention. The Cardinal for a long time blamed the Queen, as she might possibly have blabbed it out to some of her women: whereas it was found after the secretary's death, that he had kept a secret correspondence with *Cromwell* for several years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had sent him the copy of the order above-mentioned.—The message had its effect; for *Dunkirk* was put into the hands of the *English*.

In the spring of the year 1657, a kind of legislative government was brought upon the carpet, and it was agreed to offer *Cromwell* the title of King; but finding that it was disagreeable to his best friends, he told them he could not, with a good conscience, accept the title of King; but his Highness resolved upon a new inaguration, which was accordingly performed with great solemnity, June 26, 1657, in *Westminster-hall*, with all the splendor of a coronation. On January 20, 1658, the commons met, as did the other house also, pursuant to the writs of summons issued by the Lord Protector, and all shew of force was

withdrawn, but the two houses being at variance, the Protector dissolved them, February 4th, with great bitterness of speech and sorrow of heart.

It cannot be supposed that *Cromwell's* situation was at this time enviable. Perhaps no station, however mean or loaded with contempt, could be more truly distressful than his, at a time the nation was loading him with congratulations and addresses. He had rendered himself hateful to every party; and he owed his safety to their mutual hatred and diffidence of each other. His arts of dissimulation had been long exhausted; none now could be deceived by them, those of his own party and principles disdaining the use to which he had converted his zeal and professions. The truth seems to be, if we may use a phrase taken from common life, he had begun by being a dupe to his own enthusiasms, and ended with being a sharper.

The whole nation silently detested his administration, but he had not still been reduced to the extreme of wretchedness, if he could have found domestic consolation. *Fleetwood* his son-in-law, actuated with the wildest zeal, detested that character which could use religious professions for the purposes of temporal advancement. His eldest daughter, married to *Fleetwood*, had adopted republican principles so vehemently, that she could not behold even her own father entrusted with uncontrollable power. His other daughters were no less sanguine in favour of the royal cause; but above all, Mrs. *Claypole*, his favourite daughter, who upon her death bed, upbraided him with all those crimes that led him to trample on the throne.

Every

Every hour added some new disquietude. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many of the heads of the presbyterians, had secretly entered into an engagement to destroy him. His administration, so expensive both at home and abroad, had exhausted his revenue, and he was left considerably in debt. One conspiracy was no sooner detected, but another rose from its ruins; and to encrease his calamity, he was now taught upon reasoning principles, that his death was not only desirable, but his assassination would be meritorious. A book was published by Colonel Titus, (under the borrowed name of William Allen) a man who had formerly been attached to his cause, entitled, *Killing no Murder*. Of all the pamphlets that came forth at that time, or perhaps of those that have since appeared, this was the most eloquent and masterly. The dedication of it runs thus:

To his Highness OLIVER CROMWELL.

May it please your Highness,

“HOW I have spent some hours of the leisure your Highness hath been pleased to give me, this following paper will give your Highness an account. How you will please to interpret it I cannot tell; but I can with confidence say, my intention in it is to procure your Highness that justice nobody yet does you; and to let the people see, the longer they defer it, the greater injury they do both themselves and you. To your Highness justly belongs the honour of dying for the people: and it cannot chuse but be an unspeakable consolation to you in the last moments of your life, to consider, with how much benefit to the world

world you are like to leave it. 'Tis then only, my Lord, the titles you now usurp will be truly yours: you will then be indeed the deliverer of your country, and free it from a bondage little inferior to that from which *Moses* delivered his; you will then be the true reformer, which you would now be thought: religion shall be then restored; liberty asserted; and parliaments have their privileges they fought for; we shall then hope, that other laws will have place besides those of the sword; and that justice shall be otherwise defined, than the will and pleasure of the strongest: and we shall then hope that men will keep oaths again, and not have the necessity of being false and perfidious to preserve themselves, and be like their rulers,

“ All this we hope, from your Highness's happy expiration, who are the true father of your country; for while you live, we can call nothing ours; and it is from your death, that we hope for our inheritances.

“ Let this consideration arm and fortify your Highness's mind against the fears of death, and the terrors of your evil conscience, that the good you will do by your death will somewhat balance the evils of your life. And if, in the black catalogue of high malefactors, few can be found, that have lived more to the affliction and disturbance of mankind, than your Highness hath done; yet your greatest enemies will not deny, that there are likewise as few, that have expired more to the universal benefit of mankind, than your Highness is like to do.

“ To hasten this great good, is the chief end of my writing this paper: and if it have the effect

I hope

I hope it will, your Highness will quickly be out of the reach of mens malice; and your enemies will only be able to wound you in your memory; which strokes you will not feel.

“That your Highness may be speedily in this security, is the universal wish of your grateful country! This is the desire and prayer of the good and the bad; and it may be is the only thing, wherein all sects and factions do agree in their devotions, and is our only common-prayer. But amongst all that put in their requests and supplications for your Highness’s speedy deliverance from all earthly troubles, none is more assiduous, or more fervent, than he, that with the rest of the nation, hath the honour to be,

May it please your Highness,

Your Highness’s present slave and vassal,

W. A.”

Cromwell read this spirited treatise and was never seen to smile more. All peace was now for ever banished from his mind. He now found that the grandeur to which he had sacrificed his former peace, was only an inlet to fresh inquietudes. The fears of assassination haunted him in all his walks, and was perpetually present to his imagination. He wore armour under his cloaths, and always kept pistols in his pockets. His aspect was clouded by a settled gloom; and he regarded every stranger with a glance of timid suspicion. He always travelled with hurry, and was ever attended by a numerous guard. He never returned from any place by the road he went; and seldom slept above three nights together in the same chamber. Society terrified him,

as

as there he might meet an enemy; solitude was terrible, as he was there unguarded by every friend.

At *Hampton-court* he fell into a kind of slow fever, which soon degenerated into a tertian ague. One day after dinner his five physicians coming to wait on him, one of them having felt his pulse, said that it intermitted, at which being somewhat surprised, he turned pale, fell into a cold sweat, and when he was almost fainting, ordered himself to be carried to bed, where, by the assistance of cordials, being brought a little to himself, he made his will, with respect to his private affairs. Being removed to *London* he became much worse, grew first lethargic, then delirious, from which he recovered a little, but was not capable of giving any distinct direction about public affairs. He was just able to answer yes, to the demand, whether his son *Richard* should be appointed to succeed him. He died on the third day of September, 1658, that very day which he had always considered as the most fortunate of his life; for on that day he won the two great victories of *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, in 1650, and 1651.—A very pompous funeral was ordered at the public expence, and he was buried among our Kings, with a splendor superior to any that has been bestowed on crowned heads.

We cannot conclude this account without remarking, that the author of the *Complete History of England* observes, in his notes, that it remains a question, where the body of *Cromwell* was really buried. "It was, says he, to appearance in *Westminster-Abbey*. Some report it was carried below bridge, and thrown into the *Thames*. But it is

most

most probable that it was buried in *Naseby* field. This account, continues he, is given, as avered, and ready to be deposed, if occasion required, by Mr. *Barkstead*, son to Mr. *Barkstead* the regicide, who was about fifteen years old at the time of *Cromwell's* death: That the said *Barkstead* his father, being Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and a great confidant of *Cromwell's*, did, among other such confidants, in the time of his illness, desire to know where he would be buried: To which the Protector answered, where he had obtained the greatest victory and glory, and as nigh the spot as could be guessed where the heat of the action was; viz. in the field at *Naseby* Common, *Northampton*. Which accordingly was thus performed: At midnight, soon after his death, the body (being first embalmed and wrapt in a leaden coffin) was in a hearse conveyed to the said field, Mr. *Barkstead* himself attending, by order of his father, close to the hearse. Being come to the field, they found about the midst of it, a grave dug about nine feet deep, with a green sod carefully laid on one side; and the mould on the other; in which the coffin being put, the grave was instantly filled up, and the green sod laid exactly flat upon it; care being taken that the surplus mould should be clean removed. Soon after the like care was taken that the field should be entirely ploughed up, and it was sown three or four years successively with corn: Several other material circumstances, says the fore-mentioned author, the said Mr. *Barkstead* relates, too long to be here inserted."

As to the story of his body being sunk in the *Thames*, it, was related by a gentlewoman who attended

tended *Oliver* in his last sickness, as we are told by the author of the *History of England during the reign of the royal house of Stuart*. She told him, "That the day after the Protector's death, it was consulted how to dispose of his corpse; when it was concluded, that considering the malice of the cavaliers, it was most certain that they would insult the body of their most dreadful enemy, if ever it should be in their power; to prevent which it was resolved to wrap it up in lead, to put it on board a barge, and sink it in the deepest part of the *Thames*; which was undertaken and performed by two of his near relations, and some trusty soldiers the following night." So that, upon the whole, it remains a doubt, whether his body was really carried in that pompous funeral procession to *Westminster-Abbey*.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION,

IN THE YEARS 1745, 1746, &c.

AMONG the several attempts in favour of the Pretender to the crown of *Great-Britain*, there were none conducted with such address and secrecy, as that which broke out in the summer of the year 1745; and what is no less wonderful than true, some who had engaged in the association to promote his advancement, were never very remarkable for secrecy and reserve.

The principal among the conspirators was *Simon Lord Lovat*, a nobleman of a crafty turn of mind, and who experienced the vicissitudes both of good and bad fortune in the early part of life, and in his more advanced years. When but young he committed a rape upon his aunt-in-law, the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*. To screen himself from justice, he roamed about the Highlands and Western Isles of *Scotland*, and at last retired into *France*. During this period of his exile he became perfectly

well acquainted with the nature of the people inhabiting these remote parts. As his mother was a daughter of the Laird of *Macleod*, and his grandmother a daughter of Sir *Donald Macdonald* of *Slate*, so his misfortunes only furnished him an opportunity of cultivating a correspondence with the different families of these two chieftains, and the other heads of the clans. While in *France* he had occasion to be acquainted with the several orders among the Jesuits, and embracing the Roman Catholic religion, he cherished all her tenets, but none more than those of dissimulation and perfidy to heretics; for though he lived and died a Roman Catholic, yet he frequently endeavoured to get himself elected as a member of the General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, and took the oaths once and again to King *William*, to King *George I.* and *II.* in whose reign he was Captain of an independent company of *Highlanders* for fifteen years; when in the year 1736 Gen. *Wade* having detected the iniquitous methods by which he enriched himself, and imposed upon the government in the most flagitious and oppressive manner; * and observing the backwardness with which his corps went through the several evolutions of the military exercise, with the uncouth and tawdry condition in which they appeared, he, in consequence of being lieutenant-general of the King's forces in *Scotland*, broke the company and took away the commission of their Captain: at which

* His company, as he gave out, consisted of 120 men, besides officers and pipers; but on enquiry it was found that he had pocketed the money, and only remitted a small part of the corn or carriage service to his tenants for appearing at the reviews.

Lovat was so much enraged, that from that day he meditated no less a revenge than that of de-throning the King; in which event General *Wade* and other officers would be involved in the catastrophe and change.

To bring this about he proposed and signed the association formerly mentioned, sent it to *France*, where it was approved, and a promise was given to support it. The old Chevalier was so pleased with it, that he thanked him by a letter under his own hand, promised to pay all the debts upon the estate of *Lovat*, to create him Duke of *Beauford* and *Frazer*, and Lieutenant-General of the Highlands.

The pompous title of Duke of *Frazer*, instead of Lord *Lovat*, the high and distinguishing station of Lieutenant-General of the Highlands, instead of being Captain of an independent company of *Frazers*, flattered the ambition of the man, who, notwithstanding he was in the 74th year of his age, yet expected before his death to be the greatest subject of the nation, in consequence of having restored *the King*!

Full of resentment against the government, and big with the hopes of titles, riches, and distinguished appellations, he applied in good earnest to entice the subjects from their allegiance, and to fire them into an inclination to arms. As the people are poor, ignorant, and born with a military genius, so the task became the more easy. His circumstances were abundantly opulent; for during the fifteen years in which he retained the command, he saved almost 9*l.* every day. At *Edinburgh* he set up his chariot; his house at *Castle-Dorowie* was daily frequented, and his visitors were hospitably entertained.

entertained. He told them stories of what happened long ago among the *Highlanders*, magnified the superior advantage of the broad sword and target above the gun and bayonet, ridiculed the custom of bestowing commissions upon children and boys; and to crown all, he interpreted prophecies and dreams. His age was an advantage to him, as it furnished him with a pretext of telling them, without being suspected, fabulous tales about their forefathers, the connections of these with each other, with the neighbouring clans, and with his clan in particular. In fine, he denominated them his cousins, and usually dismissed them with the appellation of children and friends. He had kept up a correspondence with the court of *St. Albano* from the time of the association; and now on the repulse of the Allied army from before *Tournay*, he looked with impatience for an invasion.

The young Pretender was at *Rome* when he first heard of the disappointment which his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* had met with; his flatterers magnified the disaster, and threw the whole blame upon the *British* commander; they charged him with being the cause of the Allied army engaging that day, though that step was entirely owing to the Prince of *Waldeck*: it was easy to persuade a man who thirsted after power, and aspired after a crown. The ambitious young man set out from *Rome* on the 16th of June, 1745, and, arriving at *Paris* by the way of *Avignon*, he had again conferences with the disaffected there, and with Lord *John Drummond*, and some officers of his regiment, who had come on purpose to meet him concerning the method of his procedure; and

and to be more secure he wrote a letter to *John Murray* of *Broughton*, informing him that he intended soon to set out for *Scotland*, and desired that his friends might be ready to join him upon his landing. The letter was transmitted to *Perth*, *Lovat*, *Lochiel*, and others, who all (except *Perth*) were absolutely against his landing at that time. *Murray* wrote him the opinion of his friends; but before the arrival of the letter the hasty adventurer was set out.

He went to *Port Lazare* in *Britany*, and there hired a small vessel, in which he embarked only with seven persons, and upon the 15th of July landed in *South Uist*, where his encouragement was far from being answerable to the expectations which he had conceived; old *Clanranald*, the chieftain of the *Macdonalds* in that part, was over in *Arisaig*, dissuading his followers there to join in any enterprize, *Macdonald* of *Buisdale*, *Clanranald's* brother, being on the spot, remonstrated against it with all the eloquence he was master of. The other descendants of the family were of a different opinion; some of them had fought at the battle of *Sheriffmuir*, and wanted to be revenged for the death of their chieftain, who fell there. The young men breathed the same spirit of acrimony and resentment, and the Lady *Clanranald* became the most sanguine in the cause. After some altercation and argument, it was settled that he should repair to the continent; and in case the chieftains there should set up his standard, he might depend upon being joined by the clan under the command of her second son.

This being settled, he accordingly sent back the vessel, and in an open boat set sail for *Ardnamurchan*,

chan, from whence he intimated his arrival to his friends. *Cameron* of *Lochiel*, and his brother the Doctor, were the first to repair to him; and appearing greatly surprized at seeing him, they earnestly besought him to return; on which, with some emotion, he took out the *French* King's obligation to support him, and said with no little warmth: "If you will not set up my standard, deliver me up to the Elector of *Hanover*; for since I am arrived among you upon your own invitation, I am determined not to return." To which *Lochiel* replied, "I must say your Highness uses me ill, to think I could be guilty of delivering you to the Elector; I shall join you, as my honour is engaged; but remember I tell you, that your hasty procedure will render your scheme abortive, and prove the ruin of your friends." The principal heads of the clan were of opinion that the project was impracticable, and threatened to confine their chieftain, notwithstanding the cordial affection which they bore him; however, the remonstrance was in vain: that very night it was agreed to set up his standard * next day as *Glenphillin*, provided Lord *Lovat* approved of it; and in the mean time Dr. *Cameron* rode away to his Lordship with the news.

Though this nobleman did not applaud the Pretender's impatience, yet he gave it as his opinion that the standard should be set up: he promised to send out his own clan, and even head them himself, so soon as his infirmities and sickness were removed.

* It was a square piece of red silk fixed to a long staff, with a white standard in the middle, and this motto, "*Tandem bona causa triumphans*,"—The good cause at last triumphing.

The Doctor returning with *Lovat's* answer, the standard was erected at the place appointed, to which many of the country people came in; the *Macdonalds* of *Glengary*, *Keppoch*, and *Glanranald*, with the *Maceans* of *Glencoe*, and some of the *Maclauchlans* crowded to it; such was the abject and miserable slavery under which they groaned. With this little army he marched to *Fort William*, where he encamped, and from thence proceeded southward: they were regimented after the manner of regular troops: The pay of the private men was 8*d.* *per diem*; and when a party of the *Macdonalds* of *Keppoch's* family surprized seventy new raised men of *Sinclair's* regiment, he granted the booty, viz. 50*l.* to themselves. And here it will be proper to give a character of those principally concerned.

William Marquis of *Tullebardin*, who had been attained in the year 1715, was one of the seven that attended him from *France*. He was no soldier, no statesman, and his frequent misfortunes, with a three years imprisonment for debt in *Paris*, had so broken his constitution, that he was very unfit for the design whereon he came: however he was abundantly popular, and in that situation prevailed on a number to join him. General *Macdonald*, a lieutenant-colonel in the *Irish* brigades; Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, * and Mr. *O'Sullivan*; Mr. *Mechel*, who was his gentleman; Mr. *Kelly*, a man deeply involved with Dr. *Atterbury*, bishop of *Rochester*; and a *Guinea* black attended him likewise.

* This man's spouse had suckled the young Pretender; which was the reason of his being knighted.

In his way to the south country he was met by several of his friends, such as *James Drummond*, commonly called Duke of *Perth*, *John Murray* of *Broughton*, and *Stuart* of *Ardshiel*; men abundantly brave, but ignorant of the art of war. And indeed it is to be observed, that he had not one good officer along with him: his dependance was upon his own stratagems, *Sullivan's* schemes, and the bravery of the *Highlanders*, or the alertness of those who should join. And here an account of the northern part of the united kingdom may be expected.

That part of the united kingdom, called *Scotland*, is about 240 miles long, and 200 broad: not but in some places it is broader; but I only speak of it at a medium. It contains 940 parishes, and the inhabitants of these amount to the number of 1,500,000 persons, the clergy, women and children included. The country abounds every-where with rivers, which yield prodigious quantities of excellent salmon; its extended coast from south to north is one continued white fishery, and its southern and western, is no less remarkable for herrings, which sometimes draw great numbers of people from every quarter. Many rich mines of coal, of iron, and of lead are to be found within the bowels of its mountains. The southern parts are productive of wheat, and yield excellent pastures. How unhappy for the Adventurer to expect an army from those, and at the same time to take the most unlikely method to procure it. He came among them with a crowd of *Highlanders*; people no less disagreeable to the well-peopled counties in the lower part of the kingdom, than the *Slavonian Pandours* are to the citizens of *Vienna*,

or

or the superstitious *Laplanders* to the inhabitants and burghers of *Stockholm*. Their dress, though the nearest to that of the old *Romans*, was no way agreeable to the people of the south of *Scotland*; and yet the Chevalier, though born in the middle of *Italy*, had one made for him and put it on.

This popularity in the remotest parts did him no service as he advanced. Indeed some of the name of *Macgregor*, a clan who had been outlawed for robbery and murder ever since the year 1430, joined him in his way to *Perth*; but in this place he might begin to guess at his unhappy situation.

If we take a view of North Britain, it may be ranged under four divisions. The eastern which extends from *Berwick upon Tweed* to *Edinburgh*; the western, which begins there, and, passing along the *Forth*, reaches to the utmost limits of *Argyleshire*; the southern, which proceeds from *Edinburgh* to *Solway Fort*; and the northern, which, according to some, stretches from the *Forth* to the *Orkneys*.

No person acquainted with the southern division can have the least doubt of the loyalty of its inhabitants. Scarce can one among a thousand be found in those parts in the least tinctured with Jacobitism. Out of the shires of *Roxburgh* and *Selkirk*, which contain about one hundred thousand inhabitants, only three were concerned in the rebellion: two of whom were delirious, and the third had been carried over into *Spain* in his infancy. Out of *Annandale* was only one. His misfortune arose from his situation: he was a prisoner for debt when the Pretender arrived at *Carlisle*: the prison doors were set open: the prisoners joined him; but embraced the first opportunity

of quitting his service: they all left him at *Penrith*, From *Kirkcudbright*, *Wigtoun*, and *Lanerk* were none; from the shires of *Berwick* and *Haddingtoun* were three, and from *Peebles* were only two; so far as I could find upon the strictest enquiry. And these districts put together contain about six hundred thousand inhabitants.

Between the southern and western division lies the shire of *Edinburgh*; which being a place of public resort, especially the city, cannot be free from disaffected people. However the Loyalists are by far the most numerous; and this county, including the metropolis, contains about one hundred thousand inhabitants.

From *Edinburgh* we may pass to the western district, which includes the shires of *Linlithgow*, *Galloway*, *Sterling*, *Dumbarton*, *Renfrew*, *Air*, *Bute*, and *Argyle*; the inhabitants of which may be about four hundred thousand: and have generally been so remarkable for their true revolution principles, that no people have endured more hardships under a tyranical government than their forefathers. The clans, the ancestors of those who lately appeared in arms against the government, were brought from the isles, and remote places of the kingdom, to live upon free quarters among them. The memory of the havock and desolation caused by them, was not wholly obliterated.

Out of the most wealthy of the western shires there was not a single man in the Pretender's army. On the contrary, many of them appeared in arms for the government.

We cannot indeed say so much for the loyalty of the inhabitants in the northern division: yet the spirit of disaffection has greatly abated even in these

these counties, where the same was most notorious and palpable. We shall give a short sketch of these, that the reader may better understand the state and genius of the country: and though I cannot be of opinion, that the shire of *Fife*, so remarkable for her ancient heroes of old, and for her industrious inhabitants at this time, is a part of the north division, yet I must begin with it, as it is the first county that occurs after crossing the *Forth*.

The shire of *Fife*, in proportion to its extent, is full as populous as any in *England*, *Middlesex* only excepted. It abounds with all the necessaries of life, and enjoys many natural advantages. There are inexhaustible mines of coal and pits of salt; of which the *Fordel* coal is the most entire and cleanly, and burns more brightly than the best *Newcastle* coal. The natives are devoted to trade and manufactory. Scarce ten persons joined the *Highlanders* from her populous districts. On the contrary, many armed against them. Passing from *Fife* we enter the shire of *Forfar*, where the people though generally averse to Presbyterian government, were not averse to his Majesty King *George*; the people of property are to a man well affected, and the commonality so devoted to labour and an industrious way of life, that they want to live in peace and in quietness. Many of them withstood the most awful threatenings to join the Pretender's standard.

Though the counties which lie beyond the *Eske*, the utmost boundary of the shire of *Forfar*, may be branded with disloyalty more than their neighbours, yet it is very remarkable that out of the shires of *Kincardin*, *Aberdeen*, *Bamff*, *Murray*, and *Nairn*,

Nairn, there were not eight hundred who joined the insurgents. The shire of *Inverness* was the next where the bulk of them had brandished their arms. The Isles had augmented the rebellious corps, about two thousand from *Perthshire* crowned the head of the rebellious standard, and a few from *Rossshire* and *Cromarty* supported it. And even in these remote places were to be found numbers of persons extremely well affected: as in the shire of *Sutherland*, which is exceeding poor; and in the shire of *Caithness*, which though the remotest in *Scotland*, is yet so plentiful, that I doubt if there be a county in the King's dominions which abounds more with the comforts and necessaries of life, and whose natives are more given to hospitality.

Happy for the Pretender that he had known the country. He was deceived by others, and indeed he deceived himself: and yet his schemes were hitherto so successful, as not a little to animate such as had joined him.

His chief encouragement proceeded from the little resistance which he met with from the King's forces. 'Tis indeed true that they were too far off to attack the corps that first set up his standard. The real services done him by Sir *John Cope*, the then lieutenant-general of the king's forces in *Scotland*, were beyond the most sanguine expectation of his friends. That officer had never taken care to support the grandeur and dignity of a commander in chief. Being of a phlegmatic temper, he was ready to discover an uncommon degree of fire and warmth upon trivial occasions. I have seen him come to the Court of Justiciary, in order to kill a tedious hour, but in a dress far below that of
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an ordinary gentleman, and almost unattended. Unmoved at the hints which might have arisen in the mind of a man of the least sagacity, he did nothing in consequence of the seizing Sir *Hector Maclean* and *Bleau of Castlehill*; nor did he exert himself to get the troops together, although solicited thereto by the officers of state, and by the Earl of *Hume*: though Sir *Duncan Campbell* sent an express to *Edinburgh*, with an account that the Pretender was landed, yet he did not march so soon as he might have done. In short the Adventurer was eighteen days openly in the country before *Cope* began to stir; and even after he had begun his march with the forces, who it must be owned were but about 1500 foot, mostly new-raised men, supported with only six pieces of cannon, he by his motions gave them all the time and intimation they possibly could wish for: and, as if affraid that they should not have proper intelligence, he at *Daalnacardach*, where the extended desert between *Athol* and *Ruthven* begins, drew up his men, made them fire their pieces in the air, in order, as he gave out, to see if they were fit for action. This done he marched forward towards *Dalguiny*, where he was within six miles of the insurgents; and here in a council of war his opinion prevailed, neither to march against the enemy, who was ill armed and not supported with cannon, nor yet to return and stop their progress into the low country. He passed by them, and thus left them a free and open passage to march, if they pleased, to the metropolis.

When the Chevalier was informed of this false step of the general, he seemed to be elevated with a joy which he was at no pains to conceal; and, drinking

drinking *Cope's* health in a bumper of brandy; he said, "If all the Usurper's officers act like him, I shall soon be at St. *James's*." From that day the two armies widened their distance: the Royalists proceeded to *Inverness*, and the *Highlanders* advanced to *Blair of Athol*, and from thence to *Perth*, which the Chevalier entered in triumph, and ordered his manifestoes to be proclaimed.

While in this place, he was joined by some people of desperate fortunes, such as *Mercer of Aldie*, *Oliphant of Gask*, and Sir *John Wedderburn*: but to his great misfortune, the gentlemen of *Fife* quitted their own houses, sent their plate to the castle of *Edinburgh*, and laid the strongest injunctions upon their tenants and dependants not to join the army of the young Chevalier.

Of the number of these brave gentlemen was lieutenant-general *Philip Preston*, then governor of the castle of *Edinburgh*, an officer of great experience, and whose behaviour had been every way agreeable in the wars of *Queen Ann*; the gentlemen of the name of *Ansturther*, and Sir *Robert Henderson* of *Fordel* followed their cousin General *Preston's* example.

This Sir *Robert* is the lineal representative of a very ancient family, not only connected in blood with the first and greatest in the county, but linked to them by the more strong and lasting ties of friendship, correspondence, and a generous deportment. The bravery of this family has been displayed in foreign countries, their distinguished merit has shone in several reigns, and their loyalty stands untainted: many of its branches have been regaled in *Sweden*, in *Denmark*, in *Germany*, and in *France*. One of them was commander
of

of the first *Scots* guard * that was established in *France*; a corps to whose fidelity the sacred persons of their kings were entrusted. Another of the descendants contributed greatly to gain the battle of *Lutzen*, on which depended the Protestant cause. Nor is he himself the unworthy son of such famous and renowned ancestors; for not to insist upon the most amiable disposition, and the most endearing generosity of heart, he has had eyes to see what lay hid from ages, goodness to improve it to the best advantage, and a spirit to carry it into execution for the public utility; he has, on his own charges, built an harbour, at a place which had not so much as a name! And future ages cannot fail gratefully to remember the man who did so much for preventing shipwrecks, for saving a number of lives; and who in the period when the government could best distinguish her friends from her enemies, set the most bright and striking example of loyalty to his fellow subjects; for in that whole county there was not a single man of the least property who joined the young Chevalier; which might be the reason why his friends and followers treated the country-people there with the greater harshness and severity, for being now in *Perth*, they began to spread themselves by detachments into the adjacent villages.

On the 7th of Sept. a party of *Clanranald's* regiment entered *Dundee*, proclaimed the Pretender, searched the town for arms, horses, and ammunition, and levied the public money. In this circum-

* It took its name from a company of young gentlemen who accompanied *Margaret*, Princess of *Scotland*, when she went to be married to *Lewis XII.* 1420.

sion a ship with gunpowder was seized; it was carried up the *Tay* to *Perth*, and there unloaded for the Pretender's service. Other parties visited the towns of *Fife*, * where they rifled the merchants shops; and, carrying the goods to the Pretender, he ordered that the same should be restored to their respective owners, on their paying the third part of their price. The noblemen and gentlemens houses were visited by them; money was demanded with impunity, arms and ammunition were laid hold on, the cattle were driven from the parks and inclosures, while the corn and the straw of the farmer and labourer were seized. All was in confusion from these proceedings, and the country was drowned in amazement and surprize.

Such was the situation of the Chevalier's affairs, when General *Cope*, after a stay of five days at *Inverness*, for refreshing his men from the fatigues they had endured, thought of the necessity of marching southward. He had indeed concerted means with *Duncan Forbes*, president of the court of session, for using such means as might be of the greatest efficacy for hindering the Adventurer's army from being recruited, which was so far prudent and wise. In other things he acted without thought, and fell into the mistake of despising the enemy, and of declaring his contempt to the gentlemen who proffered their service to the Government. He called the *Highlanders* a raw banditti; without considering that the bulk of his own soldiers were raw new-raised men; nor did he so much as thank the people who offered to join the King's forces.

* There are in this county fourteen large corporation towns besides many extensive and populous villages.

On the 4th of September he set out for *Aberdeen*, where, according to his own desire, there were transports ready to conduct the troops under his command to *Leith*: and though the poor people of the districts through which he passed did every thing in their power to support the spirits and courage of the soldiers, and the noblemen and gentlemen did whatever could be expected toward rendering the march agreeable to him and the officers, yet he ordered the encampment to be fixed amid the ripe standing corn, contrary to the remonstrances both of the proprietors and of the soldiers themselves. In this march Captain *Munro* accompanied him, with two hundred of his name.

On the 11th of September, the day the Chevalier set out from *Perth*, the army arrived at *Aberdeen*; where they halted till the 15th, when they embarked on board the transports, that had been sent to bring them up. They sailed for *Leith*, and, entering the *Forth* on the 17th, they had information, that the Pretender's army had got possession of *Edinburgh*, where his manifestoes had been proclaimed: an account which determined him to divert his course to *Dunbar*, where that night the forces were disembarked, in order to march as soon as possible against the enemy; who, in consequence of the fatal steps taken by the King's officers, had made a surprizing progress.

For having intelligence of the failing of the transports to *Aberdeen*, and of the march of the troops from *Inverness*, they set out from *Perth* on the 11th, and on the 18th forded the *Forth* at the *Frew*, where Colonel *Gardiner*'s dragoons made a shew to oppose them; had *Gardiner* been in his vigour, as formerly, he might with his single re-

giment have prevented their passing over; had the dragoons alighted, and marched with two pieces of cannon, which might soon have been brought from the castle of *Sterling* to the brink of the river, it is scarcely possible to imagine that the insurgents, without artillery, and even without arms; would have attempted it; many of them had only pitch-forks, and were without firelocks: however, the Colonel was valetudinary; fame had magnified the number of the enemy, and he did not chuse to run any hazards; he retired before them to *Edinburgh*, and they followed but slowly after him. The fruitless parade made by the citizens only tended to animate the insurgents, and to furnish them with arms. The citizens, in an amazement, called a council on what was proper to be done; every one spoke as he pleased; the disaffected magnified the danger, and filled the friends of the government with fear; the soldiers of the city guard were the most abject and most paltry of wretches; *Maitland* their officer, who died mad, was an infamous bankrupt, addicted to drunkenness and hypocrisy, a coward, and unacquainted with discipline. By protracting the time in sending out deputies to the Chevalier, and receiving messages from him, the night was turned, and the morning began to appear. A coachman, who had carried one of these deputations, was urgent to get out of the town. At his earnest entreaty the port was opened, and the clan *Cameron* instantly rushed in, seized on the centres, and marching directly to the guard-house, they laid hold not only of the arms belonging to the town-guard, but also of all that they found in the hands of the volunteers and trained bands; a very fortunate circumstance

stance indeed for them, and which paved a way for the easy victory that was gained on the fourth day thereafter.

Before five in the morning both the city and suburbs were occupied, and they began to supply themselves with such necessaries as they wanted; cloaths, linen, shoes, and bonnets, were prepared for their use, and the armourers rubbed up their weapons; the generality of them were in very ragged attire, having only a short coat of coarse tartan, a pair of plaid hose much worn, reaching scarce above the calf of the leg, their plaids and bonnets in the same condition.

By eight in the morning the adventurer arrived at *Duddingston*, having fetched an half compass about the city for fear of the guns from the castle, and about nine he entered the palace of *Holyrood-house*, *Perth* riding on his right, and Lord *Elcho*, who had joined him the night before, on his left hand; the multitude hazzaed as he passed along, and he seemed extremely pleased with his reception. He was a slender young man, about five feet ten inches high, of a ruddy complexion, high nosed, large rolling brown eyes, long visaged; his chin was pointed, and his mouth small in proportion to his other features; his hair was red, but at that time he wore a pale peruke; he was in an Highland habit, with a blue fash wrought with gold coming over his shoulder, red velvet breeches, a green velvet bonnet with a gold lace round it, and a white cockade, which was the cross of St. *Andrew*; he wore a silver hilted broad sword, was booted, and had a pair of pistols before him; his speech seemed to have more of the *Englisb* than
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the *Scottish* accent, and no way painful and distorted, as that of a foreigner generally is.

Before closing this account I cannot but declare, that if an officer of the Duke of *Cumberland's* spirit had been there with one single well appointed regiment, he would have dispersed them. But where is such an one as his Highness? One of far less abilities than he might have routed them.

Every thing having succeeded so well, the Chevalier's first care was to publish his father's and his own manifestoes: the heralds were seized, and proceeded to the cross in their robes, with a trumpeter blowing a trumpet before them; and while the *Clan Cameron* surrounded the cross in three divisions, the doors and windows were crowded with spectators of the unusual scene; the following manifestoes were read over, which however well understood by the spectators, sure I am the fortieth man of the encircling guard did not know a single sentence of them.

His MAJESTY's most gracious Declaration.

J A M E S R.

JAMES VIII. by the grace of God, King of *Scotland, England, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving subjects of what degree and quality soever. Greeting,

Having always borne the most constant affection to our ancient kingdom of *Scotland*, from whence we derive our royal origin, and where our progenitors have swayed the sceptre with glory, through a longer succession of kings than any monarchy upon earth can at this day boast of, we cannot but behold, with the deepest concern, the miseries they
suffer

suffer under a foreign usurpation, and the intolerable burdens daily added to their yoke, which become yet more sensible to us, when we consider the constant zeal and affection the generality of our subjects of that our ancient kingdom have expressed for us on all occasions, and particularly when we had the satisfaction of being ourselves among them.

We see a nation always famous for valour, and highly esteemed by the greatest of foreign potentates, reduced to the condition of a province, under the specious pretence of an union with a more powerful neighbour. In consequence of this pretended union, grievous and unprecedented taxes have been laid on and levied with severity, in spite of all the representations that could be made to the contrary; and these have not failed to produce that poverty and decay of trade, which were easily foreseen to be the necessary consequences of such oppressive measures.

To prevent the just resentment which could not but arise from such usage, our faithful Highlanders, a people always trained up and inured to arms, have been deprived of them: forts and citadels have been built and garrisoned, where no foreign invasion could be apprehended, and a military government has been effectually introduced, as into a conquered country. It is easy to foresee what must be the consequence of such violent and unprecedented proceedings, if a timely remedy be not put to them; neither is it less manifest, that such a remedy can ever be obtained, but by our restoration to the throne of our ancestors, into whose royal hearts such destructive maxims could never find admittance.

We

We think it needless to call to mind how solicitous we have ever been, and how often we have ventured our royal person, to compass this great end, which the divine Providence seems now to have furnished us with the means of doing effectually, by enabling our good subjects in *England* to shake off the yoke under which they have likewise felt their share of the common calamities. Our former experience leaves us no room to doubt of the chearful and hearty concurrence of our *Scots* subjects on this occasion, towards the perfecting the great and glorious work: but that none may be deterred by the memory of past miscarriages, from returning to their duty, and being restored to the happiness they formerly enjoyed, we, in this public manner, think fit to make known our gracious intentions towards all our people.

We do therefore, by this our royal declaration, absolutely and effectually pardon and remit all treasons, and other crimes hitherto committed against our royal father or ourselves: from the benefit of which pardon we expect none, but such as shall, after the publication hereof, wilfully and maliciously oppose us, or those, who shall appear, or endeavour to appear, in arms for our service.

We farther declare, that we will with all convenient speed, call a free parliament, that, by the advice and assistance of such an assembly, we may be enabled to repair the breaches caused by so long an usurpation, to redress all grievances, and to free our people from the unsupportable burden of the malt-tax, and all other hardships and impositions which have been the consequence of the pretended union, that so the nation may be restored to that honour, liberty, and independency, which it formerly enjoyed.

We

We likewise promise, upon our Royal word, to protect, secure, and maintain all our Protestant subjects in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and in the secure possession of all churches, universities, colleges, and schools; that conform to the laws of the land.

All this we shall be ready to confirm in our first parliament, in which we promise to pass any act or acts that shall be judged necessary to secure each private person in the full possession of his liberty and property, to advance trade, to relieve the poor, and establish the general welfare and tranquility of the nation: in all such matters we are fully resolved to act always by the advice of our parliament, and to value none of our titles so much, as that of *Common Father of our People*, which we shall ever shew ourselves to be, by our constant endeavours to promote the quiet and happiness of all our subjects. And we shall be particularly solicitous to settle, encourage, and maintain the fishery and linen manufactory of the nation, which we are sensible may be of such advantage to it, and which, we hope, are works reserved for us to accomplish.

As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the recovery of our just rights, and the prosperity of their country, we shall take effectual care to reward them according to their respective degrees and merits. And we particularly promise, as aforesaid, our full free and general pardon to all officers, soldiers, and sailors, now engaged in the service of the usurper, whether of the sea or land, provided that, upon the publication hereof; and before they engage in any fight or battle against

our forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable service, and return to their duty: in which case we shall pay them all the arrears that shall be at that time due to them from the usurper: we shall grant to the officers the same commissions they shall then bear, if not higher; and to all foldiers and sailors a gratification of a whole year's pay, for their forwardness in promoting our service.

We farther promise and declare, that the vassals of such as shall, without regard to our present declaration, obstinately persist in their rebellion, and thereby forfeit all pretensions to our Royal clemency, shall be delivered from all servitude they were formerly bound to, and shall have grants and charters of their lands to be held immediately of the crown, provided they, upon the publication of this our declaration, declare openly for us, and join heartily in the cause of their country.

And having thus declared our gracious intentions to our loving subjects, we do hereby require and command them to be assisting to us in the recovery of our rights, and of their own liberties; and that all our subjects, from the age of sixteen to sixty, do, upon the setting up of our Royal standard, immediately repair to it, or join themselves to such as shall first appear for us in their respective shires; and also to seize the horses and arms of all suspected persons, and all ammunition, forage, and whatever else may be necessary for the use of our forces.

We also strictly command all receivers, collectors, or other persons, who may be seised of any sum or sums of money, levied in the name or for the use of the usurper, to retain such sum or sums
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of money in their own hands, till they can pay them to some person of distinction appearing publicly for us, and demanding the same for our use and service, whose receipt or receipts shall be a sufficient discharge for all such collectors, receivers, or other persons, their heirs, &c.

Lastly, We do hereby require all sheriffs of shires, stewards of stewartries, and their respective deputies, magistrates of royal boroughs, and bailies of regalities, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration at the market crosses of their respective towns and boroughs, and there to proclaim us, under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for their neglect of so necessary and important a duty.

Given at our Court at Rome the 23^d day of
December, 1743, in the forty-third year of
our reign.
J. R.

JAMES R.

WHEREAS we have a near prospect of being restored to the throne of our ancestors, by the good inclinations of our subjects towards us; and whereas, on account of the present situation of this country, it will be absolutely impossible for us to be in person at the first setting up of our Royal standard, and even some time after; we therefore esteem it for our service, and the good of our kingdoms and dominions, to nominate and appoint, as we hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint, our dearest son *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, to be sole regent of our kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and of all other our domi-

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nions

nions during our absence. It is our will and intention, that our said dearest son should enjoy, and exercise all that power and authority, which, according to the ancient constitution of our kingdoms has been enjoyed and exercised by former regents. Requiring all our faithful subjects to give all due submission and obedience to our regent aforesaid, as immediately representing our Royal person, and acting by our authority. And we do hereby revoke all commissions of regency granted to any person or persons whatsoever. And lastly, We hereby dispense with all formalities, and other omissions that may be herein contained, declaring this our commission to be as firm and valid, to all intents and purposes, as if it had passed our great seals, and as if it were according to the usual stile and forms.

Given under our sign manual and privy signet at our Court at Rome the 23d day of December 1743, in the forty-third year of our reign.

(L. S.)

J. R.

CHARLES P. R.

BY virtue and authority of the above commission of regency, granted unto us by the King our Royal father, we are now come to execute his Majesty's will and pleasure, by setting up his Royal standard, and asserting his undoubted right to the throne of his ancestors.

We do therefore, in his Majesty's name, and pursuant to the tenor of his several declarations, hereby grant a free, full and general pardon for all

all treasons, rebellions, and offences whatsoever, committed at any time before the publication hereof, against our Royal grandfather, his present Majesty, and ourselves. To the benefit of this pardon we shall deem justly intitled all such of his Majesty's subjects, as shall testify their willingness to accept of it, either by joining our forces with all convenient diligence, by setting up his Royal standard in other places, by repairing for our service to any place where it shall be set up; or, at least, by openly renouncing all allegiance to the usurper, and all obedience to his orders; or to those of any person or persons commissioned or employed by him or acting avowedly for him.

As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the recovery of his Majesty's just rights, and the prosperity of their country, we shall take effectual care to have them rewarded according to their respective degrees and merits; and we particularly promise, as aforesaid, a full, free, and general pardon to all officers, soldiers, and sailors, now engaged in the service of the usurper, provided that upon the publication hereof, and before they engage in any fight or battle against his Majesty's forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable service, and return to their duty; since they cannot but be sensible, that no engagements, entered into with a foreign usurper, can dispence with the allegiance they owe to their natural sovereign. And, as a farther encouragement to them to comply with their duty and our commands, we promise to every such officer, the same, or a higher post in our service, than that which at present he enjoys, with full payment of whatever arrears may be due to him as the time of his declaring for us
and

and to every foldier, trooper and dragoon, who shall join us, as well as to every seaman and mariner of the fleet, who shall declare for and serve us, all their arrears, and a whole year's pay to be given to each of them as a gratuity, as soon as ever the kingdoms shall be in a state of tranquillity.

We do hereby farther promise and declare, in his Majestys name, and by virtue of the above-said commission; that, as soon as ever that happy state is obtained, he will, by and with the advice of a free parliament, wherein no corruption, nor undue influence whatsoever, shall be used to bias the votes of the electors or elected, settle, confirm, and secure all the rights, ecclesiastical and civil, of each of his respective kingdoms; his Majesty being fully resolved to maintain the church of *England* as by law established, and likewise the Protestant churches of *Scotland* and *Ireland* conformable to the laws of each respective kingdom, together with a tolleration to all Protestant dissenters; he being utterly averse to all persecution and oppression whatsoever, particularly on account of conscience and religion. And we ourselves, being perfectly convinced of the reasonableness and equity of the same principles, do, in consequence hereof, farther promise and declare, that all his Majesty's subjects shall be, by him and us, maintained in the full enjoyment and possession of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and especially of all churches, universities, colleges, and schools, conformable to the laws of the land, which shall ever be the unalterable rule of his Majesty's government, and our own actions.

And,

And, that this our undertaking may be accompanied with as little present inconveniency as possible to the King's subjects, we do hereby authorize and require all civil officers and magistrates, now in place and office, to continue till farther orders, to execute their respective employments in our name and by our authority, as far as may be requisite for the maintenance of common justice, order, and quiet; willing and requiring them, at the same time, to give strict obedience to such orders and directions as may from time to time be issued out by us, or those who shall be vested with any share of our authority and power.

We also command and require all officers of the revenue, customs and excise, all tax-gatherers of what denomination soever, and all others who may have any part of the public money in their hands, to deliver it immediately to some principal commander authorized by us, and take his receipt for the same, which shall be to them a sufficient discharge; and, in case of refusal, we authorize and charge all such our commanders to exact the same for our use, and to be accountable for it to us, or our officers for that purpose appointed.

And having thus sincerely, and in the presence of Almighty God, declared the true sentiments and intentions of the King our Royal father, as well as our own in this expedition, we do hereby require and command all his loving subjects to be assisting to us in the recovery of his just rights, and of their own liberties: and that all such, from the age of sixteen to sixty, do forthwith repair to his Majesty's Royal standard, or join themselves to such as shall first appear in their respective shires for his service: and also to seize the horses
and

and arms of all suspected persons, and all ammunition, forage, and all whatever else may be necessary for the use of our forces.

Lastly, we do hereby require all mayors, sheriffs, and other magistrates of what denomination soever, their respective deputies, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration at the market-crosses of their respective cities, towns, and boroughs, and there to proclaim his Majesty, under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for the neglect of so necessary and important a duty. For as we have hereby graciously and sincerely offered a free and gracious pardon for all that is passed, so we at the same time, seriously warn all his Majesty's subjects, that we shall leave to the rigour of the law, all those who shall from henceforth oppose us, or wilfully and deliberately do or concur in any act or acts civil or military, to the lett or detriment of us, our cause or title, or to the destruction, prejudice, or annoyance of those, who shall according to their duty and our intentions thus publicly signified, declare and act for us.

Given at *Paris* the 16th of May 1745.

C. P. R.

It is needless to take up the reader's time in a confutation of these papers, or of those of the 22d of August, the 9th and 10th of October 1745, as this has been so frequently and so judiciously done: "They were," said Sir *William Young*, "an abridgment of the many scandalous libels, calumnies, and falsehoods published against this
" constitution

constitution and government," and were, in obedience to an order of the House of Peers, with the hearty concurrence of the commons, burnt by the hands of the common hangman:

The resolution of the two houses of parliament is too important not to be inserted here, especially as the same was not the effect of a sudden transport of passion, but of the utmost deliberation and coolness; for on the 6th of November they were read in the House of Lords, when a committee was appointed to consider them, and to prepare a commentary upon them, which was to be communicated to the House of Commons, who were desired to come to a conference in the Painted Chamber at three o'clock in the afternoon of next day; the desire was agreed to; a number was named, and met the Lords at the time appointed; and the resolution being laid before the whole, it was unanimously confirmed and ratified. The tenor of which is as follows:

Resolved,

" By the Lords spiritual and temporal, and
 " Commons, in Parliament assembled, that the two
 " papers respectively signed *James R.* and dated
 " at *Rome* the 23d day of December 1743, and
 " the four printed papers signed *Charles P. R.*
 " dated respectively the 16th day of May 1745;
 " August the 22d 1745, the 9th day of October
 " 1745, and the 10th day of October 1745, are
 " false scandalous and traitorous libels, intended
 " to poison the minds of his Majesty's subjects;
 " containing the most malicious, audacious, and
 " wicked incitements to them to commit the most
 " i z I i " abominable

“ abominable treasons: groundless and infamous
 “ calumnies and indignities against the govern-
 “ ment, crown, and sacred person of his most ex-
 “ cellent Majesty King *George II.* our only right-
 “ ful and undoubted sovereign; and seditious and
 “ presumptuous declarations against the constitu-
 “ tion of this united kingdom; representing the
 “ high court of Parliament, now legally assem-
 “ bled by his Majesty’s authority, as an unlawful
 “ assembly; and all the acts of parliament, passed
 “ since the late happy revolution, as null and void;
 “ and that the said printed papers are full of the
 “ utmost arrogance and insolent affronts to the
 “ honour of the British nation, in supposing that
 “ his Majesty’s subjects are capable of being im-
 “ posed upon, seduced or terrified, by false and
 “ opprobrious invectives, insidious promises, or
 “ vain and impotent menaces; or of being de-
 “ luded to exchange the free enjoyment of their
 “ rights and liberties, as well civil as religious,
 “ under the well-established government of a pro-
 “ testant prince, for popery and slavery under a
 “ Popish bigotted Pretender, long since excluded
 “ by the wisest laws made to secure our excellent
 “ constitution, and abjured by the most solemn
 “ oaths.”

Resolved,

“ By the Lords spiritual and temporal, and
 “ Commons in Parliament assembled, that in ab-
 “ horrence and detestation of such vile and trea-
 “ sonable practices, the said several printed papers
 “ be burnt by the hands of the common hangman,
 “ at the *Royal Exchange* at *London*, on *Tuesday*

“ the 12th day of this instant November, at one
 “ of the clock in the afternoon; and that the
 “ sheriffs of *London* do then attend, and cause the
 “ same to be burnt there accordingly.” These
 orders were punctually obeyed, amidst the repeated
 acclamations of a prodigious multitude.

The declarations being read, which sufficiently
 pointed out the intentions of the adventurer, and
 the spirit of his party, he next day sent to the
 magistrates of *Edinburgh* a paper, requiring, on
 pain of military execution, 1000 tents, 2000 tar-
 gets, 6000 pair of shoes, and a proportionable
 number of white iron cantines, against the 23d;
 all which was furnished at the time appointed.

Next day an order was read over the cross, “ re-
 “ quiring all the inhabitants of the city and sub-
 “ urbs, and of the county of *Mid-Lothian*, to
 “ give up at their own expence the whole arms
 “ and ammunition in their custody, under pain of
 “ being deemed as rebels and treated as such.”
 This order was likewise obeyed, and to strengthen
 himself still further, a drum beat up for soldiers
 in the Pretender’s name: whoever could raise 40
 men was to be made a captain, and whoever could
 bring 20 men into the field was to have a lieute-
 nant’s commission. This encouragement had its
 effect also; for many raw and unexperienced young
 men, of no prospects or fortunes, had commissions
 given them: but indeed there was not a propor-
 tionable number of private men; all wanted to be
 officers; they were anxious about preferment, and
 desirous of command.

Among other advantages reaped from getting
 possession of the city of *Edinburgh*, that of ob-
 taining the printing-houses was not the least: one

Drummond had already printed his declarations, and now the news-paper, known by the name of the *Caledonian Mercury*, was by its conductor, *James Grant*, a Roman Catholic, moulded to his mind. The Chevalier was represented as another *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, with this superior difference, that the former was more cool and deliberate than he. When the King's speech came out, though as fine a one as ever came from a throne, it was commented on, and called "The Elector of *Hanover's* Speech to his pretended Parliament."

While the flame of rebellion was burning with unusual fierceness, and while the flashes thereof daily increased, *Cope* was at *Dunbar* joined by the volunteers of the city of *Edinburgh*, and by two regiments of dragoons under Brigadier *Fowkes*, who had lately come from *England* to command them.

The Earl of *Hume*, with other noblemen and gentlemen, did every thing in their power to render his expedition agreeable; they furnished the troops with every thing necessary, and procured intelligence of the enemy's motions; nor indeed were these behind them in that particular, for on the very night of their debarking, one *John Stuart*, commonly called *Roy*, from the redness of his hair, mingled with the country people, and in the habit of a farmer counted them as they stepped on shore, or advanced to the place of rendezvous. This *Roy Stuart* was extremely well adapted to any undertaking, however arduous or desperate: he had been a serjeant in one of the independent Highland companies, afterward quarter-master in the regiment of *Greys*, and at this time captain of grenadiers

grenadiers in Lord *John Drummond's* battalion; he had carried on the correspondence between the Pretender and Lord *Lovat*, and now in hopes of making his fortune, he went on board a ship from *Holland*, landed at *Harwich*, and without stopping, landed at the camp of the adventurer.

As *Cope* has resolved to beat up the Pretender's quarters, so he set out for *Haddington* on the 19th, the very day on which the insurgents were strengthened by 350 by the name of *Grant* from *Glenmoriston*. At *Haddington* the army was received in the most affectionate manner, not only by the towns people, but by those of the adjacent villages; and being extremely well accommodated, they next day marched westward to meet the enemy, who that very morning had set out from *Edinburgh* to give battle to the King's forces. These to their great misfortune instead of marching to the *Es*, and planting a battery of cannon upon the bridge thereof, halted on a corn-field near *Prestonpans*, in order to wait for the enemy. Here they were regaled by the country people, and dined plentifully; but scarce was dinner over, when the Chevalier appeared with 2500 men, but without any kind of artillery, on the side of a hill, directly to the southward of them. Both sides raised an huzza, and now was the time for *Cope* to attack, while it was the business of the enemy to wait patiently till the twilight, if not till the dawn of the morning; the latter was what actually happened; for after spending a night of silence, about three in the morning they crossed through some inclosures, and coming upon the flank of *Cope's* lines, they attacked them with hedious acclamations, gave them a full fire all at once, and then run in sword

sword in hand. The dragoons startled at the noise, fled off all at once, and disordered their own infantry, which at this time was overpowered: the onset was so sudden, that in less than a minute the rout was total, and the carnage became terrible indeed, the Highlanders pursuing the poor soldiers with unspeakable fierceness and antipathy; many of them being cut in pieces as they were clambering over some inclosures for their lives; others were overtaken, and cut in the most inhuman manner by broad swords and *Lochaber* axes, the authority of the officers being unable to restrain their rage.

In this battle about 360 of the King's troops were killed, among whom were the pious Colonel *James Gardiner*, five captains, and one ensign. There were about 500 wounded, among whom were Lieutenant-colonel *Whitney*, and Major *Bowles* of *Hamilton's* dragoons. The fate of this last worthy gentleman was every way deplorable: they had cut him cruelly in eleven different places, and perhaps would have finished him, had not *O'Sullivan* accidentally come by, when the Major said to him, "Sir, you seem to be an officer and a gentleman, pray don't suffer them to use me so cruelly, for you see I am disarmed." The Master of *Torbichen* was treated in much the same manner. About 83 officers were taken prisoners, and several of these were wounded or hurt, with about 1150 private men: all the rest being either killed or wounded. And this with little loss on the side of the Pretender's army; of whom there were only two captains, one lieutenant, and one ensign killed, with about forty private men, and eighty wounded. The artillery, consisting of six pieces

pieces of cannon and two cohorns, fell into their hands, as did all the tents, the military chest, with *Cope's* baggage, and the equipage of the other officers. Four thousand and ninety pounds were only found in the military chest, the rest being secured in the *Fox* man of war, or at *Haddington*; which was the only prudent step that had been taken during this inglorious campaign. The dragoons lost no more than fifty, including killed, wounded, and prisoners. And thus was an army of about 1624 foot, mostly raw men, and but raised in the summer before, with two regiments of dragoons, destroyed almost in the twinkling of an eye, meerly through the sullen behaviour and headstrong obstinacy of a general officer; who rode to *Lauder* with the shattered part of the dragoons, and from thence proceeded by himself to *London*, to be the messenger of his own disaster. On the 29th he appeared at *St. James's*, where the eyes of the whole court were fixed upon him; and the King coming into the drawing-room said, "Well *Cope*, I have heard lately much about you. Has there been a battle?" Being answered, with a profound reverence, "there has;" his Majesty replied, "I see you are safe and sound; but what's become of my men?" To this he was incapable of giving a satisfactory answer; which the Sovereign observing, he turned upon his heel and, with a visible concern, directed his discourse to another person; and never after consulted him in any plan of operation. While *Cope* was at *London*, the living witness of his own shame, and while the wounded, who had escaped from the enemy, carried the dismal marks of a brutal fury in the numerous and inhuman cuts they had received, the

Chevalier

Chevalier was at *Holyrood-house*, increasing his party and forwarding his cause.

The consequences of a battle are not to be judged of, from the number of the slain, or from a passage that may be opened to a fortress which one army was desirous to besiege, and another wanted to relieve. More substantial advantages flowed from the defeat of the King's troops at *Preston*: almost the arms of the whole body of foot and of the volunteers, with several firelocks and broad swords belonging to the dragoons, fell into the hands of the victors, and these were distributed among the recruits, whom the Marquis of *Tullibardin* was sending up to them. The whole of *North-Britain* was now in their power. Officers were chosen to act in the Pretender's name: tho' indeed none would undertake to act, except in the places where there was a force sufficient to enjoin the orders: and this might be one of the reasons of his delaying to march into *England*. Parties were sent into different places to collect the public money, and to take up any arms that had been secreted. The goods in the custom-house of *Leith* were sold by auction; and in some places the land-tax was brought in: though it must be owned, many of the officers of the revenue quitted the kingdom, and carried off the money that was in their hands, to be delivered to those who had a better right to receive it. Five thousand guineas were raised from the citizens of *Glasgow*, and about as much from the gentlemen in the neighbourhood: whose bureaux were broke open, and repositories forcibly pulled down.

Such was the behaviour of the party whom he sent out; nor could he with all his address and policy

policy palliate their conduct. A proclamation to make no rejoicing for the late victory, as it had been obtained by the blood of his Majesty's subjects, was highly extolled by his friends; while the following declaration opened the mouths of his enemies, but particularly the clergy, whose affection to the government shone at this time with a surprizing lustre.

CHARLES *Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

WHEREAS we are informed, that several of our subjects, as well clergy as laity, in our ancient city of *Edinburgh*, and neighbourhood thereof, did associate and take up arms against us; and that many of them fled from their houses, lest they had been prosecuted, and made examples of, as their crimes demerited:

And whereas we have nothing at heart but the good of all our subjects, how much soever deluded by the prejudice of education or mistaken interest; and being always disposed, as a true father of our country, to display that mercy and tenderness natural to us, and the distinguishing characteristic of our family:

We do therefore, in his Majesty's name, hereby grant a full pardon to the persons associated as aforesaid, for all treasons, rebellions, and offences whatsoever, committed by them at any time before the publication of these presents, whether against our Royal Grandfather of blessed memory, his present Majesty, or ourselves, dispensing with the generality hereof, and admitting the same to be as

effectual, to all intents and purposes, as if all their names had been herein set down. Provided always, that the persons aforesaid present themselves within twenty-four days after the publication hereof, to our trusty and beloved counsellor *John Murray of Broughton*, Esq. our secretary, or any one of our council appointed for that purpose, at our palace of *Holyrood-house*, or where else we shall be for the time, with a declaration that they shall live for the future as quiet and peaceable subjects to us and our government, otherwise these presents to be of no effect to them. Given at our palace of *Holyrood-house*, the twenty-fourth day of September, and of his Majesty's reign the forty-fifth year, 1745.

CHARLES, P. R.

By his Highness' command, Jo. Murray.

This declaration, which had for his own sake been better let alone, was productive of nothing advantageous to him; nor was the protection offered to the banks, if they would return from the castle to their former business. His popularity in declaring, that if his scheme succeeded, "*Scotland* should be his *Hanover*, the palace of *Holyrood-house* his *Herenhausen*," was not believed: the bulk of the people were of the complexion formerly mentioned. Let the fewness of his followers, even after a regular army had been destroyed, speak their loyalty. And a fruitless attempt to reduce the castle of *Edinburgh*, by cutting off all communication with the country, tended to confirm them the more in their affection to the Government.

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This daring enterprize, to which he was so unequal, was the occasion of the garrisons firing several cannon, for keeping the avenues clear: and yet it is observable, that no cannon were fired until General *Guest*, the then commander of the forces had intimated, by a letter, his intention to the magistrates of the city; which when they carried to the Chevalier, he sent them the following reply, wrote by his own hand:

“ Gentlemen,

“ I am not a little surpris'd at the inhuman orders of the commanders of the castle of *Edinburgh*, and which, they say, they received from the Elector of *Hanover*. If he looked upon you as his subjects, he would never require of you what he knows to be out of your power to grant. It is impossible to prevent inconveniences in cases of this nature; but I shall take care to have all sufferers indemnified, as soon as the public tranquillity is restored, and in the mean time shall make full reprisals upon the estates of all those who are abettors of the German Government.

“ C. P. R.”

This chimerical blockade lasted but three days, when they laid hold of a packet from *London*, directed to the garrison of the fort, to spare the city as much as possible; but to keep the avenues clear, till the force destined for its relief should arrive among them. The Chevalier, to be before-hand with this gentle and pacific order, caused the following proclamation to be posted up in the public places of the town.

K k 2

“ C. P. R.”

“ C. P. R.

“ The Prince Regent taking into consideration
 “ the many murders committed upon the innocent
 “ inhabitants of the city of *Edinburgh*, has of his
 “ innate clemency, the distinguishing characteristic
 “ of his family, yielded to the supplications of the
 “ distressed, and considering that justice ought to
 “ give place to mercy, when the good of a people
 “ require it, he therefore takes the blockade off
 “ the castle, and commands, upon his part, all hos-
 “ tilities to cease.”

He ever affected to treat the person of his Majesty King *George* with indignity; and no sooner heard of the Parliament being summoned to meet Oct. 17th, than he emitted a declaration, discharging the same, and next day published his last manifesto.

CHARLES *Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging: Unto all his Majesty's Subjects of what degree soever, Greeting.*

CHARLES P. R.

AS soon as we, conducted by the Providence of God, arrived in *Scotland*, and were joined by a handful of our royal father's subjects, our first care was to make public his most gracious declaration; and, in consequence of the large powers by him vested in us, in quality of regent, we also emitted our own manifesto, explaining and enlarging the promises formerly made, according as we came to be better acquainted with the inclinations of the people

of *Scotland*. Now that it has pleased God so far to smile on our undertaking, as to make us master of the ancient kingdom of *Scotland*, we judge it proper, in this public manner, to make manifest what ought to fill the hearts of all his Majesty's subjects, of what nation and province soever, with comfort and satisfaction.

We therefore hereby, in his Majesty's name declare, that his sole intention is to re-instate all his subjects in the full enjoyment of their religion, laws and liberties; and that our present attempt is not undertaken in order to enslave a free people, but to redress and remove the encroachments made upon them; not to impose upon any a religion which they dislike, but to secure them all the enjoyment of those which are respectively at present established among them, either in *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*; and if it shall be deemed proper that any further security be given to the established church or clergy, we hereby promise, in his name, That he shall pass any law that his parliament shall judge necessary for that purpose.

In consequence of the rectitude of our royal father's intentions, we must further declare his sentiments with regard to the national debt: that it has been contracted under an unlawful government, nobody can disown, no more than that it is now a most heavy load upon the nation; yet, in regard that it is for the greatest part due to those very subjects whom he promises to protect, cherish and defend, he is resolved to take the advice of his parliament concerning it, in which he thinks he acts the part of a just prince, who makes the good of his people the sole rule of his actions,

Farthermore, we here in his name declare, that
the

the same rule laid down for the funds, shall be followed with respect to every law or act of parliament since the revolution; and in so far as, in a free and legal parliament, they shall be approved, he will confirm them. With respect to the pretended union of the two nations, the King cannot possibly ratify it, since he has had repeated remonstrances against it from each kingdom; and since it is incontestible, that the principal point then in view, was the exclusion of the Royal Family from their undoubted right to the crown, for which purpose the grossest corruptions were openly used to bring it about. But whatever may be hereafter devised for the joint benefit of both nations, the King will most readily comply with the request of his parliaments to establish.

And now that we have, in his Majesty's name, given you the most ample security for your religion, properties and laws, that the power of a British sovereign can grant; we hereby for ourselves, as heir apparent to the crown, ratify and confirm the same in our own name, before Almighty God, upon the faith of a christian, and the honour of a Prince,

Let me now expostulate this weighty matter with you, my father's subjects, and let me not omit this first public opportunity of awakening your understandings, and of dispelling that cloud which the assiduous pens of ill-designing men have all along, but chiefly now, been endeavouring to cast on the truth. Do not the pulpits and congregations of clergy, as well as your weekly papers, ring with the dreadful threats of popery, slavery, tyranny, and arbitrary power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you by the formidable powers of *France* and *Spain*?

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Is not my Royal Father represented as a blood-thirsty tyrant breathing out nothing but destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious religion? Or, have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked truth.

I, with my own money hired a small vessel, ill provided with money, arms, or friends; I arrived in Scotland, attended by seven persons; I publish the King my father's declaration, and proclaim his title, with pardon in one hand, and in the other liberty of conscience, and the most solemn promises to grant whatever a free parliament shall propose for the happiness of a people. I have, I confess, the greatest reason to adore the goodness of Almighty God, who has in so remarkable a manner, protected me and my small army through the many dangers to which we were at first exposed, and who has led me the way to victory, and to the capital of this ancient kingdom, amidst the acclamations of the King my father's subjects: why then is so much pains taken to spirit up the minds of the people against this my undertaking?

The reason is obvious, it is least the real sense of the nation's present sufferings should blot out the remembrance of past misfortunes, and of the outcries formerly raised against the royal family. Whatever miscarriages might have given occasion to them, they have been more than attoned for since; and the nation has now an opportunity of being secured against the like for the future.

That our family has suffered exile during the fifty-seven years, every body knows. Has the nation, during that period of time, been the more happy and flourishing for it? Have you found reason to love and cherish your governors, as the fathers

fathers of the people of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*? Has a family, upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed the diadem of a rightful prince, retained a due sense of so great a trust and favour? Have you found more humanity and condescension in those who were not born to a crown, than in my Royal forefathers? Have their ears been open to the cries of the people? Have they, or do they consider only the interest of these nations? Have you reaped any other benefit from them than an immense load of debts? If I am answered in the affirmative, why has their government been so often railed at in your public assemblies? Why has the nation been so long crying out in vain for redress against the abuses of parliaments, upon account of their long duration, the multitude of placemen, which occasions their venality, the introduction of penal laws, and, in general, against the miserable situation of the kingdom at home and abroad? All these and many more inconveniences must now be removed, unless the people of *Great-Britain* be already so far corrupted, that they will not accept of freedom when offered to them; seeing the King on his restoration, will refuse nothing that a free parliament can ask for the security of the religion, laws, and liberty of his people.

The fears of the nation, from the powers of *France* and *Spain*, appear still more vain and groundless. My expedition was undertaken unsupported by either: but indeed, when I see a foreign force brought by my enemies against me, and when I hear of *Dutch*, *Danes*, *Hessians*, and *Swiss*, the Elector of *Hanover*'s allies, being called over to defend his government against the King's subjects,

subjects, is it not high time for the King my father to accept also of the assistance of those who are able, and who have engaged to support him? But will the world, or any one man of sense in it, infer from thence, that he inclines to be a tributary Prince, rather than an independent monarch? Who has the better chance to be independent on foreign powers? He, who with the aid of his own subjects, can wrest the government out of the hands of an intruder; or he, who cannot, without assistance from abroad, support his government, though established by all the civil power, and secured by a strong military force, against the undisciplined part of those he had ruled over so many years? Let him, if he pleases, try the experiment, let him send off his foreign hirelings, and put the whole upon the issue of a battle; I will trust only to the King my father's subjects, who were or shall be engaged in mine and their country's cause: but, notwithstanding all the opposition he can make, I still trust in the justice of my cause, the valour of my troops, and the assistance of the Almighty; to bring my enterprize to a glorious issue.

It is now time to conclude, and I shall do it with this reflection. Civil wars are ever attended with rancour and ill-will, which party-rage never fails to produce in the minds of those, whose different interests, principles, or views, set in opposition to one another; I therefore earnestly require it of my friends, to give as little loose as possible to such passions; this will prove the most effectual means to prevent the same in the enemies of our royal cause. And this my declaration will vindicate to all posterity the nobleness of my undertaking, and the generosity of my intentions.

Given at our palace of *Holyrood-house*, the 10th
day of October 1745. C. P. R.

By his Highness command, *J. Murray*.

This declaration, condemned by parliament, was followed by an address to the army and people, wrote by *S. Sheridan*, in the most insinuating and persuasive manner: and as it is the duty of a skilful physician to lay open the most dangerous wounds, that the same may be most speedily and effectually cured, so it is the duty of a faithful historian, or of an honest man, that best of characters, to give a genuine narrative of such arguments as an invading party use, to the intent the same may be answered in due time, and that a remedy may be prepared if an accident of the like nature should happen again.

That great politician and artful reasoner, after insisting upon what is laid down in the Pretender's manifesto, observes, that of all crimes, parricide is of the deepest dye? And that of the several species of it, none could come up to that of dethroning and torturing a king, which last, the keeping him from his right must necessarily imply; a crime, continued he, unknown to the Heathens, and at which, "*Pilate*, the Royal governor, cried out "with horror, *What, crucify your King?*" On this he dwells for two pages; then proceeds to remove the objection raised against the reality of his Master's birth, whom he calls, "the most accomplished gentleman in Europe;" he insists upon the depositions of the several maids of honour to the Queen dowager *Katherine of Portugal*, and others, with regard to it, and puts the question, how such a base thing could enter into the heart

heart of a man? But, proceeds he, "What has
 " the youth (meaning the adventurer) done against
 " you, a youth adorned with such charms, that he
 " wants nothing to be admired but to be seen?"
 Then he shews, that the preservation of the protes-
 tant religion under a Roman Catholic King is not
 impracticable; as in the case of the subjects of
Saxony, and those of the *Palatinate*; he then re-
 flects upon the present royal family, and puts the
 question, "Have they not been cyphers since ever
 " they came among you, and the very ridicule of
 " those over whom they govern?" So concludes,
 "with beseeching them to return to their allegi-
 " ance, that they may not henceforth be a proverb
 " among other nations for having expelled their
 " King; whose ancestors were the fountain, whence
 " they and theirs had derived their titles, their
 " honours, and their arms." To these I shall only
 make the following answer.

Parricide is certainly a crime of the deepest dye,
 and that of dethroning a king is of the worst spe-
 cies; and I wish that neither *Sheridan*, nor any of
 his cabal, had been guilty of such an intention:
 but no definition of parricide, that implies guilt
 with regard to King *James*, can be applied to us,
 unless his own abandoning a throne upon the peo-
 ples praying for a redress of grievances, can be
 called by such a terrible and odious name; far less
 indeed can it be applied to the case of the Pre-
 tender, who never was in possession, and who, if
 the real son of the abdicated *James*, must accord-
 ing to the laws of reason and revelation, have the
 forfeiture of his father entailed upon him. Tho'
 parricide is a crime sufficient to excite the astonish-
 ment of a Heathen, yet *Pilate*, by sitting in judg-
 ment

ment, and trying our Saviour, whom his accusers called "King of the *Jews*," is a demonstration, that he thought kings themselves were accountable for their conduct; or, in other words, he judged, that both kings and subjects were to be ballanced in the scales of the law.

The oaths of the witnesses concerning the birth of the Chevalier, and of the maids in particular, shall not be weakened by me; one thing is certain, these incomparable ladies have said so little upon the subject, that it is astonishing they should be named; nor is it a new thing, to find a spurious breed of pretenders to a crown, in the *Scots*, *English*, or other annals; for no less than two have appeared in *Sweden*, since the death of *Charles XII.* As to the accomplishments of the old Chevalier, I can say nothing, except from his manifestoes, and in these I presume will appear the charms of his son. As to the consistency of enjoying the exercise of the Protestant religion, under a Roman Catholic King, let it be considered, that the example of the King of *Poland*, is truly the worst he could think of, since that monarch, and his father, like other crowned heads, only professed the Roman Catholic doctrines to qualify themselves for a throne. The same thing, though in a less degree, could be observed of the Elector Palatine; and of late, we have seen that the brother of the Duke de *Deux Pontz* has commenced a Roman, to gain the favour of the Court of *Versailles*, since he is out of all hopes of ever enjoying the crown of *Sweden*. His reflections upon the Royal Family are surely ill-grounded, and as the eyes of *Europe* in general, and the *British* nation in particular, are open, they must

must easily see, as clear as noon-day, the malignity and wickedness of the ungenerous aspersions.

Nothing now hindered his advancing into *England* except the conduct of Lord *Lovat*, whom they were soliciting by frequent letters to join them: but that nobleman was not willing to throw off the mask and to appear openly. He had been a rebel in his heart even in the year 1715; but did not join the Pretender's standard because one *Mackenzie of Frazerdale*, who had married the heiress of *Lovat*, headed the clan, to the exclusion of him, as he was the heir male of that family. He indeed staid at home, but no sooner did the news arrive that the Duke of *Argyle* had defeated the rebels, then he mustered up those very men who had appeared at the battle of *Sheriffmuir* against the Royalists, and at their head he joined those in arms for the government.

At this time he imagined, that he might play the same game; his scheme being to send out his son and his followers, while he himself remained at home, big with the hopes of being rewarded for their services if successful; but that his son only should be the sufferer if the undertaking failed.

The most earnest entreaties openly to throw off the mask were to no purpose: he contented himself with writing letters full of the most fulsome flattery. And indeed his pretext was the more plausible, as the twenty companies of independent Highlanders had now been raised, and appeared openly for the government; and that the Earl of *Loudon* had arrived in a ship from *London*, to take upon him the command of that corps. Toward the latter end of October the Adventurer resolved on decamping. He was convinced that he
had

had received all he could expect from the north part of the kingdom, and that nothing was to be done in the other districts, and therefore prepared to set out for *England*: where, from the first moment of his public appearance, every proper step had been taken to defeat his intention and design.

The Pretender having decamped from *Holyrood-house*, and sent his troops by different roads into *England*, did on the 8th of November cross the *Solway Frith* with an army of 5520 men, supported by 13 pieces of brass cannon 12 pounders, which he had received from *France*, besides those taken at the battle of *Preston-pans*: he had plenty of ammunition, and had no doubt of being properly supplied with provision in a more opulent country, abounding with every convenience, and where the harvest had been remarkably plentiful.

If we take a view of *England* and *Wales*, we may say with great certainty, that it contains more inhabitants than any district of the same dimensions in the known world: there are almost seven times the number of people in these than there are in *Scotland*, though the extent of the country is but one sixth part more; a plain demonstration that *South Britain* is by far the finer country, and at the same time a convincing proof not only of the small encouragement given to the latter, but of their own lethargic idleness to cultivate the fisheries, since a right improvement of these would soon set the northern upon an equal footing with the southern division.

The whole of *England* lies in such cherishing and wholesome climates, that the ground itself is productive of their liberty: no nation possesses more

more real advantages, whether we consider the fertility of the soil, the temperature of the air, the preciousness of its mines, the abundance of its forests, the tallness of its trees, the capaciousness and safety of its harbours, the splendour and magnificence of its cities, the cleanliness of its villages, the largeness of its cattle, the comeliness and beauty of its men, some of whom are remarkable for improving in the sciences, as others have been conspicuous for a martial spirit, and admired for bravery and conduct. The Duke of *Cumberland* was born in her bosom; nor is it one of her least glories to have given birth to so great and illustrious a son; happy and independent in herself, but still more so, if she knew the art of contentment, and was not ready on every occasion to be hurried into schemes destructive of her true and lasting interest: could we suppose a crowd of *Spaniards* to settle in it, their descendants would in time work out the moroseness of their disposition; whereas should an *English* colony settle in *Spain* or in *Africa*, the offspring of these would gradually be of the same dull genius with the natives, and become devotees to a superstitious and gloomy religion.

But *England* is not more happy in her natural advantages than in her constitution and government both in church and state; which to erect was the work of ages, and at the expence of an immensity of blood and treasure. During the desolating civil wars between the houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, the natives of *England* might be said to be tillers of the ground, and in bondage to their superiors; so that whenever a battle was gained, be victor who will, the commons were sure to be
slaves

slaves; but when the Two Houses were united in the person and family of *Henry VII.* then was a cessation from domestic broils, the people began to look about with more ease, and the fruit of their enquiry was freedom, which soon formed them into a commercial state. Sensible of their advantages, they began to send representatives to parliament from among themselves; and from this origin that constitution arose, which has been the glory of every *Englishman*, and which they apprehended the rebellion was calculated to overturn.

The regency in the King's absence, upon being assured of the Pretender's landing, issued out a proclamation setting 30,000*l.* on his head, which when he saw, he answered it by a counter-proclamation, which we shall here set down.

Locherbag, August 22d, 1745.

WHEREAS upon setting up our royal standard, for the recovery of our just right to the throne of our ancestors, we were not a little surprized to find that the Elector of Hanover had not only contrary to the moderation of christian Princes, but even to humanity itself, given an encouragement to parricide, by setting 30,000*l.* upon the head of our royal father, or our own, and so make us fall a sacrifice to the hands of bloody and cruel men, as our great grandfather King *Charles I.* of glorious memory had done near a century ago; this is therefore requiring all our liege subjects to endeavour to take the Elector of *Hanover* dead or alive, if he should venture to land in any of the King's dominions, and they shall receive a reward

of 30,000*l.* in consideration of so good and important a service.

Signed CHARLES, P. R.

By his Highness's command,

JOHN MURRAY.

It is needless to add any thing to the observations on this placart, further than that it was printed on the same type, and the same size as the manifestoes formerly named. As the rebellion continued to increase, they dispatched a courier to *Hanover* with the important news; his Majesty without hesitating a moment, set out for his regal dominions, and on the 29th of August came to *St. James's*.

Scarce had he arrived, when addresses came in from every quarter; the merchants and trading part of the city of *London* associated, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to fight for their religion and liberty, and in defence of the King's person and government; men of property of all ranks and orders crowded in with liberal subscriptions for raising forces, beyond the example of former times, and uncompeled by law. The admirals and captains in the navy agreed to levy a regiment of foot, for paying which they appropriated their own salaries; the proprietors of the *Prince Frederic* and *Duke* privateers gave a loan to the King of 700,000*l.* which was their share of some rich prizes, to be repaid as the parliament should direct; the clergy formed their hearers by precept, and excited by example to exert themselves in support of the crown, their own liberties, and the reformed religion; the Bishops of *Oxford*, *Hereford*, *Worcester*, *Bristol*, and *Durham*, with *Dr. Potter*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, wrote cir-

cular letters to the inferior clergy of their dioceses, enjoining them to rouse up and cultivate in their respective parishes a spirit of loyalty and affection; and Dr. *Herring*, the Archbishop of *York*, who afterward filled the see of *Canterbury*, rode night and day to bring the nobles and gentlemen of the ridings in that extensive county to a meeting at the castle of *York*, where he made a pathetic harangue to promote an association.

A SPEECH made by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of York, at presenting an Association entered into at the Castle of York, Sept. 24, 1745.

My Lords, Gentlemen, and Reverend Bretheren of the Clergy,

I AM desired by the **Lords** Lieutenants of the several Ridings, to open to you the reasons of our present assembling; and as the advertisement, which has called us together, is in every body's hands, and the fact now speaks itself too plainly, a few words will be sufficient on the occasion.

It was some time before it was believed (I would to God it had gained credit sooner) but now every child knows it, that the Pretender's son is in *Scotland*; has set up his standard there; has gathered and disciplined an army of great force; receives daily increase of numbers; is in possession of the capital city there; has defeated a small part of the King's forces; and is advancing with hasty steps towards *England*.

What will be the issue of this rapid progress must be left to the Providence of God. However, what is now incumbent upon us to do, is to make
the

the best provision we can against it; and every gentleman, I dare say every man in *England*, will think it his wisdom and his interest to guard against the mischievous attempts of these wild and desperate ruffians.

But the great mischief to be feared, which ought to alarm us exceedingly, and put us immediately on our defence, is the certain evidence, which every day opens more and more, that these commotions in the north are but part of a great plan concerted for our ruin.—They have begun under the countenance, and will be supported by the forces of *France* and *Spain*, our old and inveterate (and late experience calls upon me to add, our savage and blood-thirsty) enemies.—A circumstance that should fire the indignation of every honest *Englishman*. If these designs should succeed, and popery and arbitrary power come in upon us, under the influence and direction of these two tyrannical and corrupted Courts, I leave you to reflect what would become of every thing that is valuable to us!

We are now blessed with the mild administration of a just and Protestant King, who is of so strict adherence to the laws of our country, that not an instance can be pointed out, during his whole reign, wherein he made the least attempt upon the liberty, or property, or religion, of a single person. But if the ambition and pride of *France* and *Spain* is to dictate to us, we must submit to a man to govern us under their hated and accursed influence, who brings his religion from *Rome*, and the rules and maxims of his government from *Paris* and *Madrid*.

For God's sake, gentlemen, let us consider this matter as becomes us, and let no time be lost to guard against this prodigious ruin. To your immortal honour be it spoken, you have considered it; and are now met together to call in the unanimous consent and assistance of this great county. This county, as it exceeds every other for its extent and riches, so it very naturally takes the lead of the inferior ones. And it will be extremely to our credit, give courage to the friends of the best constitution in the world, damp the spirit of its enemies at home (if any such can be convinced in *Britain* at this dangerous crisis) and be an instruction to those abroad, that there is still spirit and honesty enough among us to stand up in defence of our common country. This will be the use of an unanimous and hearty declaration of fidelity to our country, and loyalty to our King. But the times, gentlemen, call for something more than this! Something must be done as well as said.— And the fund for our defence, already begun, and now to be proposed to this great assembly, will, it is hoped, from reasons of public example and public safety, meet with the hearty concurrence of every individual that composes it. And at the same time that your hearts go along with the association, your hands will be open to support the necessary measures of self-defence.

As to you, my Reverend brethren, I have not long had the honour to preside among you; but from the experience I have had, and what I have always heard of the honest love to your country (if you permit me to say so) I will be your security to the public, that you will decline no pains to instruct and animate your people; nor expence,
according

according to your circumstances, to stand up against popery and arbitrary power, under a *French* or a *Spanish* government.—We scorn the policies of the court of *Rome*, have no interests separate from the people, but on every occasion, where our country is concerned, look upon ourselves as incorporated with the warmest defenders of it; or, if we do desire to be distinguished, it will be by our ardor and zeal to preserve our happy constitution.

Let us unite then, gentlemen, as one man, to stop this dangerous mischief, from which union no man surely can withdraw, or withhold his assistance, who is not listed into the wicked service of a *French* or *Spanish* invasion, or wholly unconcerned for the fate of his bleeding country.

May the great God of battles stretch out his all-powerful hand to defend us; inspire an union of hearts and hands among all ranks of people; a clear wisdom into the councils of his Majesty; and a steady courage and resolution into the hearts of his generals!

Scarce had his Grace finished his speech, when the whole assembly unanimously agreed to enter into an association, the tenor whereof is as follows,

The ASSOCIATION.

WHEREAS there is now a horrid and unnatural rebellion carried on in *Scotland* by Papists, and other wicked and treacherous persons, countenanced and supported by the old and inveterate enemies of our country, and the religion and liberties thereof, the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, in order to dethrone his present Majesty King *George*, the only rightful and lawful King of these realms; and having subverted our religion,
laws,

laws, and liberties, (which God forbid) to set upon the throne a Popish Pretender, a dependant and a slave to these tyrannious courts: We the Lord Archbishop of *York*, Lord Lieutenants, Nobility, Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, Clergy, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and others of the county of *York*, whose names are subscribed to this writing, and every of us, being of opinion, that in times so full of danger and treasonable practices as these are, an union of our hearts and forces will be most conducing to his Majesty's safety, and the public good of our country, do voluntarily and willingly bind ourselves every one of us to the other jointly and severally, in the band of one firm and loyal society, and do hereby promise, that with our whole powers, bodies, lives and estates, we and every of us will stand by and assist each other in the support and defence of his Majesty's sacred person and government, and will withstand, offend, and pursue, as well by force of arms, as by all other means, the said popish Pretender and traitors, and also all manner of persons of what state soever they be, and their abettors, that shall attempt, act, counsel, or consent to any thing that shall tend to the harm of his Majesty King *George*, or of his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, or any of their issue, or to the subversion of his Majesty's government. And we do by this instrument declare, that no one of us shall, for any respect of persons or causes, or for fee or reward, separate ourselves from this association, or fail in the prosecution thereof during our lives.

Dated at the castle of *York* the 24th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1745.

Every

Every freeholder engaged for a year's valued rent of his estate, and in a short time about 33,000*l.* was paid down; some went so far as to raise companies, among whom was *William Thornton* of *Cattel*, who paid and cloathed a company of 70 men, whom he denominated the *Yorkshire Blues*. The northern counties followed the example of *York*, and the Dissenters, following the steps of the church, contributed according to their capacity; indeed they were equally interested in the important affair, the churches of *England* and *Scotland* were nearly the same, though these differed widely in their discipline and worship, as *Dr. Blair*, one of the Prebendaries of *W——r*, certainly must know, since he came under the most sacred engagements to the Presbytery of *Dunbar* never to deviate from the latter, and has since bound himself under the strongest ties to adhere to the former. As no other occurs to me who came under the obligations to both churches, I therefore have in a manner appealed to him, hoping he may speak truth at times.

The Quakers furnished woollen waistcoats to enable the troops to go through their winter campaign. The Roman Catholics apprehensive that in the event of the Pretender's success their estates and properties would become a prey to foreigners, declared their aversion to a change. On the theatre was revived the tragedy of *Perkin Warbeck*, (said to be Duke of *York*, and son to *Edward IV.* anno 1497) in which was exhibited a lively picture of the desolation and havock caused in *England*, when he marched into that kingdom with some *Scotch* forces then under the command of King *James IV.*

The nobility and gentry solicited for liberty to
be

be allowed to raise forces; the Lord High Chancellor *Yorke*, and Mr. *Onslow*, Speaker of the House of Commons, set the example; the Duke of *Montagu*, Master-General of the Ordnance, raised a regiment of foot and another of horse; the Duke of *Bedford* raised one in *London*, and another in *Bedfordshire*; the Dukes of *Bolton* and *Ancaster*, with the Marquis of *Granby*, levied each a regiment of foot, as did the Earls of *Halifax*, *Berkley*, *Cholmondely*, and *Edgcumbe*; the Viscounts of *Falmouth* and *Harcourt*; Lords *Gower* and *Herbert*. In short, about 15 regiments were raised, and so properly stationed, that the friends of the Pretender were deterred from rising in arms. The judges, counsellors, and attornies at law, surrounded the throne, soliciting to be permitted to hazard their lives for their country, and to raise forces at their own expence for its protection.

The city of *London* put their militia in order, and commanded that of *Westminster* to hold themselves in readiness to march, and on the 10th of September the Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited on their Sovereign with an offer of their service, declaring "That upon every occasion they were
 " ready to sacrifice all that was dear and valuable
 " to them in defence of his Majesty's person and
 " family, and in support of the happy constitution
 " both in church and state. On which six regiments were raised, who abjured the Pretender, and took the oaths to the government; the Court of Lieutenancy followed the example; the merchants protested their loyalty; the universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* presented addresses, while the other towns through the kingdom, like the members of the body influenced by the head, followed the example

ample of the metropolis, and the trading part of the nation followed the steps of the *London* merchants.

The four battalions of guards were augmented, and on the 5th of September a proclamation was emitted against Papists and Nonjurors, to take effect after the 19th. An advertisement was published from the war-office, offering 6*l.* bounty-money to every able-bodied man, five feet seven inches high without shoes, under thirty years of age, if before the 24th of September he would list in the guards. On the 18th orders were sent to the several counties of *England* and *Wales* to raise the militia; and arms were distributed among them; and on the 14th a proclamation was issued out, importing, that every man, who from that time till January, should enlist in any regiment of horse, foot or dragoons, was to receive his discharge in two years, if the same was required. On the 23d the regiment of *Scots Greys* arrived at *Gravesend* from *Flanders*, as did the three battalions of the foot guards, the foot regiments of the Major-Generals *Pultney*, *Howard*, *Braag*, *Johnson*; Brigadiers *Douglas* and *Cholmondley*; and Colonel *Sowles*. All these had been in the late battles at *Fontenoy*; and though extremely thinned in the engagement, as constituting a part of that body, which headed by the Duke of *Cumberland* had pierced between the redoubt of *Fontenoy* and the Wood of *Barri*, yet they were now recruited, and their complements were full. His Royal Highness directed their rout, and even accompanied them to within 20 miles of *Ostend*, when again he returned back to the army. On the 26th about 1500 merchants, traders, and proprietors of pub-

lic funds agreed to take Bank notes in payment of their debts, to the intent that the specie might circulate among the troops. On the 9th of October, the day when the *Venetian* ambassador made his public entry with great magnificence, the trained bands began to mount guard at the *Royal Exchange*, and other public places; and though they continued twenty-four hours on duty, till relieved by some companies from the six regiments, yet they did not complain. On the 10th the *Tower Hamlets* mounted guard at *White-chapel Bars*, at *Wellclose-square*, and on *Tower-Hill*; and on the 17th the parliament met, notwithstanding the following charge to the contrary:

CHARLES *Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging;*

CHARLES P. R.

WHEREAS we are certainly informed, That the Elector of *Hanover* has taken it upon him to summon a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, on Thursday the seventeenth of this instant October; we hereby warn and command all his Majesty's liege subjects, whether peers or commoners, to pay no obedience to any such summons, and not to presume to meet or act as a Parliament at the time and place appointed, or any other; the so doing by any authority but that of the King our royal Father, since the setting up of his standard, his Majesty's gracious pardon offered for all that is past, being an overt-act of treason and rebellion: but if, notwithstanding this our declaration, any
number

number of persons shall presume to meet in either house, and act there as members of a lawful Parliament, they cannot but be sensible that no right or privilege of Parliament can avail to justify what they say or do in such an unlawful assembly. And for those of his Majesty's subjects of this his antient kingdom of *Scotland*, whether peers or commons, who shall, contrary to these our expresse commands, presume to sit or vote as aforesaid, as soon as the same shall be verified to us, the transgressors shall be proceeded against as traitors to their King and country, and their estates shall be confiscated for his Majesty's use, according to the laws of the land; the pretended union being now at an end. Lastly, We hereby strictly enjoin and command all his Majesty's faithful subjects, of what rank and degree soever, to pay no obedience or regard to any act, vote, order, or resolution, that may be published in the name of both houses, or of either of them respectively, as they shall answer the contrary at their peril.

Given at our palace of *Holyrood-house*, the ninth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and forty-five.

CHARLES P. R.

By his Highness' command, *J. Murray*.

Both houses being met, for but few of either were absent, the King in his speech informed them, " That the open and unnatural rebellion, which
" had broke out, and was still continuing in *Scotland*, had obliged him to call them together
" sooner

“ sooner than he intended,” — “ That the wicked
 “ and daring attempt in favour of a Popish Pre-
 “ tender to his Crown, headed by his eldest Son,
 “ carried on by traiterous and desperate persons,
 “ and encouraged by his enemies abroad, required
 “ the immediate advice and assistance of his Parlia-
 “ ment; that the unanimity shewn by his subjects
 “ had given him the firmest assurance that they
 “ were resolved to act with a spirit becoming a
 “ time of common danger.

“ I have,” continued he, “ through the whole
 “ course of my reign, made the laws of the land
 “ the rule of my government, and the preserva-
 “ tion of the constitution in church and state, and
 “ the rights of my people, the main end and aim
 “ of all my actions. It is therefore the more asto-
 “ nishing, that any of my Protestant subjects, who
 “ have known and enjoyed the benefits result-
 “ ing from thence, and have heard of the im-
 “ minent dangers these kingdoms were wonder-
 “ fully delivered from at the happy Revolution,
 “ should by any arts and management be deluded
 “ into measures, that must at once destroy their
 “ religion and liberties, introduce Popery and ar-
 “ bitrary power, and subject them to a foreign
 “ yoke. He declared himself sensibly affected
 “ with the extraordinary burthen which the at-
 “ tempt must bring upon us his faithful subjects;
 “ and concludes with assuring, that the interest of
 “ him and his people was always the same; and
 “ that whoever heartily and vigorously exerted
 “ themselves in the national cause, might depend
 “ on his favour and protection.”

Next day, the Lords presented their address, in
 which, after the usual introduction, they declared,
 that

that they " wanted words to express the just indignation and abhorrence rising in their breasts, at " so wicked, traiterous, and desperate an attempt " in favour of a Popish Pretender to his crown, " whose groundless claim they had unfeignedly abjured, and whose principles and designs they " did from the bottom of their hearts, detest and " abhor; then very gratefully acknowledged his " paternal regard for the laws; that they were resolved to hazard their lives and fortunes in defence of his sacred person and government, and " that they would concur in all such measures as " might most effectually conduce to extinguish " the rebellion, to deter any foreign power from " presuming to support it, to restore the tranquillity of his government, and to add strength to " that excellent constitution which the flagitious " attempt was intended to subvert."

The Commons presented an address in terms to the same purpose, assured him of having " his " hands strengthened by effectual supplies, for " supporting his sacred person and government, " which from every consideration, human and divine, they were bound to defend."

On Monday the 21st, they impowered the King to secure and detain such persons as he should suspect of conspiring against his person and government. And, on the 4th of November, no less than 1,298,000 *l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* was granted for paying 49,229 effective men, for the year 1746: they likewise voted 64,365*l.* 18*s.* for paying the fifteen regiments formerly named, for 122 days from the time of their being raised, with 13,176*l.* 10*s.* for the pay of two regiments of horse, for the same time and in the same way; and 35,252*l.* 10*s.* for maintaining

maintaining the twenty independant Highland companies for 361 days: and upon the 24th the King was empowered to raise the *English* militia.

There were now 36,000 regular troops in the kingdom, commanded by gallant officers, who had given signal instances of their valour and intrepidity, and, what not a little animated both army and people, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland was among them. His Highness had on the 14th of October left *Brussels*, and on the 18th arrived at St. *James's*. The troops which he ordered to follow landed on the 25th. They consisted of four troops of Sir *John Ligonier's* dragoons, the detachment of the foot guards which served at *Ostend*, Lieutenant-general *Sinclair's* battalion of foot, the foot regiments of Lieutenant-general *Harrison*, Major-general *Husk*, and Lord *Harry Beauclerc*. On the 27th Prince *Henry Frederic* was born, on which the Parliament complimented the King as they did on the 30th, being his birth-day. It was kept in *England* with uncommon gaiety: and perhaps the drawing-room at St. *James's* was never fuller. It was likewise observed in every part of *Scotland*, except where parties of the enemy were stationed: the garrison of the castle of *Edinburgh* observed the different parts of rejoicing with uncommon splendour and shew: the union flag was displayed, at twelve o'clock a round from her guns was discharged, and these were answered by the ships in *Leith* road, and by volleys from the small arms of the garrison drawn up upon the platform.

Every place was put in the best posture of defence; the garrison at *Berwick* was reinforced by eight companies of *Price's* foot, just as they landed from *Flanders*, and five companies of *Ligonier's* were

were ordered by General *Handasyde* to be stationed in *Holy Island* till further orders. In a word, *England* was now become a seminary of soldiers, actuated by the spirit of their Sovereign, who declared in council, That if the rebellion continued, he himself would march at the head of the troops in person. And in the mean time an army was ordered to the north, over which Field-marshal *Wade* was appointed to command.

That officer moved from *Doncaster* on the 21st with the *British* infantry, and with the *Swiss* regiment whom the states of *Holland* had, conformable to treaties, upon the requisition of the *British* ambassador, sent over to the King. *Newcastle-upon-Tyne* was the place appointed for the rendezvous. The forces marched thither from twenty different quarters, and about the 28th they, on a muster upon the moor of that town, amounted to 14,000 men, with a large train of artillery.

The Marshal resolved to wait here; both to observe the motions of the enemy and to protect the coal mines, which if once seized by the insurgents would be of the utmost advantage to the Royal cause.

From this place he caused a proclamation to be made, and afterward to be inserted in the newspapers, "That those of his Majesty's subjects inhabiting the *Highlands* of *Scotland*, and others, who have been seduced by the menaces and threatenings of their chiefs and superiors to take arms, and enter into a most unnatural rebellion, should be objects of the royal mercy, if they would return to their habitations, on or before the 12th of November; but if they slighted this offer,

offer, they were to be punished according to the demerit of their crimes."

This voluntary proffer did not meet with a suitable return: the chiefs were too much involved: the Pretender was too ambitious; and two-thirds of his army could neither read nor write. Gracious declarations were attributed to a reigning panic occasioned by the defeat at *Preston pans*; so that, depending on the weakness of the King's troops, especially in the time of winter, and on their own superior alertness, they entered *England* on Friday the 8th of November. The whole army was now together, and after scouring the country for two days, the Pretender marched at their head to the Moor of *Carlisle*, where he waited for his cannon and the remainder of his forces; who brought him the mortifying news, that thirty-four of their waggon had been seized by a party of the *Dumfries* militia-men, in arms for the government: a piece of news which however disagreeable, yet did not hinder his sending *Geobegan*, a *French* officer with the following summons:

CHARLES *Prince of Wales; Regent of Scotland, England, France; and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

BEING come to recover the King our father's just rights, for which we are arrived with all his authority, we are sorry to find that you should prepare to obstruct our passage: we therefore, to avoid the effusion of *English* blood, hereby require you to open your gates, and let us enter, as we desire, in a peaceable manner; which if you do, we shall take care to preserve you from any insult,
and

and set an example to all *England* of the exactness with which we intend to fulfil the King our father's declarations and our own; but if you shall refuse us entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such means as Providence has put into our hands, and then it will not perhaps be in our power to prevent the fatal consequences which usually attend a town's being taken by assault. Consider seriously of this, and let me have your answer within the space of two hours; for we shall take any further delay as a peremptory refusal, and take our measures accordingly.

Nov. 15, 1745. Two in the afternoon.

For the Mayor of *Carlisle*.

This menacing letter was answered from the cannon on the ramparts. The Chevalier, who had marched to *Brampton Muir*, eight miles east of *Carlisle*, in order to give battle to General *Wade*, or to waste and consume the forces under that officer by marches and countermarches, or to surprise them in the night-time, as opportunity offered, was not a little touched at the refusal; he sent back a small party on the 13th with some fascines and scaling-ladders, made of the wood cut in *Corby* and *Warwick Parks*, and toward sun-set these arrived near the town. Next morning they broke ground within 300 yards of the *Scots gate*, but were driven off by an uninterrupted fire from the batteries; however, this disheartning circumstance did not counterbalance one more encouraging; and which arose from a thick mist; which then darkened the atmosphere. Under favour of it a trench was dug toward the *English gate*, as the most defenceless; the insurgents advanced the works, and

Perth, the conductor of the siege, wrought in his shirt as the meanest labourer; *Carlisle* was attacked in three places at once, which being discovered on the sky clearing up, the centries in surprize spread a consternation among the inhabitants. Many people leaped over the wall, which is about six feet high, and five feet broad, and crossed the ditch, which is of the same breadth with the wall; these generally escaped, though some fell into the hands of the enemy. The militia being shut up in a town, where they were fatigued with a continual watching for seven days and seven nights together, and the inhabitants almost killed with the apprehensions of a massacre, desired a meeting. The Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens convened, with Colonel *Durand*, Governor of the castle, to consult about the proper methods to be taken in this extremity. The Governor's opinion was that the place might hold out, but he was overpowered by the multitude; the terror of the Highlanders storming the town sword in hand in the night-time had already filled them with the most killing apprehensions, it was resolved to surrender the place. Accordingly a white flag was hung out, which the enemy observing, the intended assault was laid aside, and deputies came out with a proposal of terms; they were told that the town should enjoy her liberties, but that the provision and ammunition should be delivered in the case they were in; and in the mean time a message was sent off to the Chevalier, who answered, "that he was not to do things by halves, he must have both the castle and the town, or neither of them." The garrison of the former were, by the faithful *Durand*, almost prevailed on to stand a siege; but upon
after.

after-thoughts, about 320 out of 400 men deserted in one night, and some of these who remained were unfit for action, so that the governor, was obliged to withdraw. Things being thus situated, *Pertb*, who was afterwards made governor, took possession of the town and castle in the Pretender's name about ten in the morning of the 15th. His declarations were proclaimed with great solemnity, and he himself made his entry on the 17th, escorted by the *Elphinstone* troop, then commanded by *Arthur Lord Balmerino*, who appeared for the first time as an officer, and Colonel of the life-guards. Here were found provisions for three months, arms for a numerous militia, and near 200 horses with proper furniture; and in the castle were 1000 stand of arms, with many of the swords of the Highlanders taken at *Preston*, anno 1715: all which, with 100 barrels of gunpowder, and many valuable effects belonging to the country people for several miles round, were secured.

And here *Pertb* performed a piece of generosity, which could not fail of gaining an universal esteem. From his frequenting the horse races at *York*, *Newcastle* and *Black Hamilton*, he became acquainted with almost the whole gentlemen of *Cumberland*, and the adjacent counties, so that when he came to receive them in the market-place, there was a continued embracing one after another of the prisoners for near half an hour; they were invited to dine with him, and after being properly regaled, were dismissed upon their parole. Some gentlemen of these parts have told me, that though they looked upon this step of *Pertb* as inconsistent with the character of a soldier, yet it was a signal instance of his politeness and humanity, for they

were suffered to retain their arms! Indeed he had no reason to be ruffled in his temper, as the besiegers lost no more than one *Dalton*, an engineer, an *Irishman*, who was killed; and a private man, who was wounded.

These successes, in themselves equal to a victory, were still heightened by the slowness of Marshal *Wade's* motions; that officer, instead of stationing himself half way between *Newcastle* and *Carlisle*, had continued at the former place, notwithstanding he had intimation of the Pretender's rout by an express next day after their quitting *Edinburgh*. He did not decamp till the 16th, and then *Carlisle* was in the hands of the enemy; the *Dutch* troops were a drawback upon his motions, and would not march when directed: these had come over only for the sake of form. The *French* ambassador at the *Hague* remonstrated against their being sent over to *England*, under pretence that they were included in the capitulation of *Tournay*, and were not to fight directly or indirectly against the crown of *France* for a year. Some memorials passed upon this subject, and the troops in the mean time were transported; *England* was pleased with their arrival, and *France* was pacified with their inaction; for during the whole time of their continuance, they were not so much as engaged in a skirmish, or the least accidental rencounter.

On that day the Major-Generals *Howard* and *Oglethorpe*, with the Brigadiers *Cholmondeley* and *Mordaunt*, marched at the head of the infantry in a falling snow, which lay three feet deep upon the ground. About eight at night they arrived at *Ovington*, through roads terribly broken and full of ice, in which some of the foot of the last co-

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lumn had dropt through fatigue, and might have perished, had not the Major-Generals *Huske* and *Oglethorpe* hired countrymen with lights and carts to bring them up. In this service they were employed till nine next morning, when the forces continued their march for *Hexham*, which the first line entered about four in the afternoon, and the rear at midnight. Here the Marshal, having intelligence of the fate of *Carlisle*, resolved to return, and on the 22d arrived at *Newcastle* through roads almost impassable, and with an army spent with fatigue.

The magistrates received them with a becoming sympathy; the malt-houses, public halls, and other empty buildings, were warmed and fitted up, while such as appeared to be most jaded were quartered in private houses, and entertained at the proprietor's charge. Here they continued two days, and on the 24th began their march southward in quest of the enemy, who, after leaving a garrison of 450 men at *Carlisle*, had about ten in the morning of the 20th set out for *Penrith*, where and at *Shap* they halted till the 22d, when they marched for *Kendal*, advanced to *Lancaster* on the 24th, and reached *Preston* on the 26th, proclaiming their leader in every town amidst the acclamations of the multitude. Here the Chevalier, who hitherto marched on foot, mounted on horseback, and surveyed the passes and bridge of the town, taking with him such as had been there in the year 1715, when the Earls of *Derwentwater*, *Nithisdale*, *Winton* and *Carnwath*, with almost their whole forces, were taken prisoners; and here, as in other places, they collected the cess, the land-tax, and excise, with the other branches of the public revenue.

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The neighbourhood of the enemy filled the western counties with surprize and astonishment, and the towns began to provide for their safety; the city of *Chester*, the key into *Wales*, was by the care of the Earl of *Chalmondley* put into a posture of defence, and its bridge broken down. The inhabitants of *Liverpool* secured their valuable effects in the ships then in the road; which precautions had such an influence, that on the 29th the enemy turned eastward to *Manchester*, where their cavalry arrived by ten in the morning, and the Pretender at the head of his infantry about two in the afternoon. Next day they beat up for volunteers, when some Roman Catholics and Non-jurors engaged with them, but no person of rank or distinction came in: however, they formed the *Manchester* regiment of horse, whose livery was blue cloaths, hangers, a plaid sash, and white cockade: they made free with the best horses they could find, and beat up for recruits as they advanced. The Colonel of that regiment was the unfortunate *Francis Townley*, a gentleman of great courage and activity, but who, through the misfortunes of his family, had gone to serve in the armies of *France*. Their quarter-master was one *Thomas Cappock*, a Presbyter of the Church of *England*, who was soon declared Bishop of *Carlisle*; an unhappy preferment for him as it brought him to a fatal end, which every wretch, who, on the prospect of a piece of bread, swerves from his solemn engagements never to deviate from the discipline and worship of one church, who has impowered him to preach the Gospel, ought to meet with. It is no wonder that villains of this stamp should shake off all the ties binding on a scholar,

scholar, in order to use the arts of circumvention, and, like a bailiff's follower, turn a man out of his bread, and fix himself in it. Poor *Cappach* was hanged, drawn and quartered. At *Manchester* the bellman was sent about with orders to all such as had public money to bring it in, and in the evening he intimated that the place should be illuminated; which last being partly complied with, was of good service to the fear of the army, as it was night before they could enter.

On the 1st of December a party of them made a feint of marching to *Stockport*, and another westward to *Knotsford*, having crossed the *Mersey* in different places, though then very rapid and swollen by the rain. The cavalry forded it, while the foot and artillery passed over bridges of plank and of poplar. In the mean time the Pretender arrived at *Macclesfield* with 3000 men, and the artillery came in about two in the afternoon. Next morning the van was sent to *Congleton*, where they received intelligence that the main body of the King's army, consisting of 12,700 men, mostly veteran regiments, and among them three battalions of the guards, commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*, was at *Newcastle under Line*, nine miles south west of them.

For on the 16th of November his Majesty had ordered three regiments of horse, two of dragoons, and fifteen of foot, to march into *Lancaster* to observe the motions of the enemy. They marched by the way of *Barnet*, *Dunstable*, and *Wooburn*, through roads almost impassable, and rendezvoused at *Stafford* on the 26th of November, when Sir *John Ligonier* was appointed to take upon him the command. As they advanced the Duke begged
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of his Royal father to be permitted to put himself at the head of the forces. His request was granted, but with difficulty; The King told him, "*William*, I grant your desire, but pray take care of yourself; for this young man is not a fool with whom you have to deal: learn this lesson from your father, never to despise an enemy." A salutary advice worthy the most solid wisdom, and which the Duke so well observed, that he did not commit one single oversight during the whole time of his command. On the 26th he set out from *St. James's* about one o'clock in the morning, and in three days arrived at *Stafford*, between which place and *Tamworth* the army was cantoned. He no sooner appeared among them, than the air resounded with the most joyful acclamations.

Here getting intelligence that the enemy intended to march to *Congleton*, he ordered that part of the cavalry, which was posted at *Newcastle under Line*, to retreat till the infantry should come up, and the two bodies being joined here, he drew them up on *Stonefield*, expecting the enemy would come that way: but on information that they were marching further east, he caused the army to move to the south east, the better to intercept them. The roads and avenues were properly secured, and the day was somewhat dark; circumstances very favourable for him, as by means of these advantages he would have been up with the enemy, being within three miles of them: and now there might have been an end of the matter, had it not been for a turnpike-man, who first informed the Pretender's party, that the Duke was advancing upon that road, and within three miles of them, and therefore directed them to turn off

to the left hand. His directions were followed, and in about an hour after the Duke came up with the troops, when the turnpike-man assured him that the enemy had marched to the right, and were but two miles distant; whereon his Highness set out more eagerly than before, and in his way saw a lieutenant of *Johnson's* regiment lying among the whins miserably mangled, and a little further on, six others in the same situation. He had marched two miles before discovering the cheat, and so returning the same way, he ordered the turnpike-man to be brought before him. The unhappy fellow made no defence for himself, further than that he did not want a battle should happen near his abode. An excuse of so little weight in itself, that the whole general officers insisted on putting him to death, which was done instantly; he was carried to a tree, and hanged on a bough thereof, which overshadowed the road.

This done he marched to *Coventry* with all his horse, and two battalions of foot, having ordered the remainder to encamp on *Meriden* common, where the flannel waistcoats (the gift of the Quakers) were arrived. This step of his Royal Highness entirely disconcerted the plans and measures of the enemy, for turn which way they will, the troops were alert to attack them.

The Pretender having intelligence of these motions, and of the alacrity of the King's army, marched his van to *Asbburn*, and the main body of his forces to *Leek*, and all of a sudden turned to *Derby*, which he entered on the morning of the 4th, with 450 horse, and 2300 foot; the rest, in order to appear more numerous, continuing to

enter till late, when their artillery and baggage did arrive.

The suddenness of their approach surprized the people of the town, who retired in such confusion, that the clerk in a hurry left upon a bureau the roll of those who subscribed for sums in the government's service. The paper falling into their hands, the different quotas and public money were rigorously collected, and at night was held a council of war; in which the question was, Proceed forward, or Retreat? The reasoning was tedious and long, but nothing then was concluded. Next day after dinner the question was resumed; the Chevalier was so eager upon fighting, that he was ready to cry. *Clanranald* and *Clunie Macpherson* joined him; but *Lord Pitligo* and the other leaders were unanimous against it. "I am told," said *Pitligo*; "that the Elector is to raise his standard at *Finchley* common, and the advantage of being in possession of *London* is known from the case of *Edward IV.* should we fight the Duke of *Cumberland*, the fortune of war is doubtful; should we pass him which may be done, yet we have another army to encounter before we arrive at *St. James's*; in case of a defeat, we shall be exposed to the rage of the country people. Let us not then bring certain destruction upon ourselves, and an indelible stain upon the *Scottish* nation, who, when unanimous, never marched so far as we have done; we will conduct you back (turning to the Chevalier) and by an honourable retreat secure that safety, and that character, of both which the rash adventuring forward bids fair to deprive us.

This reasoning was just; for in case they did escape

escape the Duke, they would be put between the fire of the enemy, and that formed under the eye of the Earl of *Stair*, which was composed of the guards, Lord *John Murray*'s old Highland regiment, two troops of *Ligonier*'s horse, and the remains of Sir *Robert Rich*'s regiment of dragoons, with those of Lieutenant-general *Halley*, who on the 1st had arrived in the *Thames* from *Williamstadt*. The associated regiment of the law, for the defence of the Royal Family, and the preservation of the constitution in church and state, made up of the gentlemen of the gown, under the command of Lord Chief Justice *Willes*, entered here upon the first rudiments of a winter campaign; there was a large train of artillery, consisting of 33 field pieces, and 48 covered waggons, 20 chests of arms, and 240 matrosses, under the direction of Captain *Speedwell*, an officer of 55 years experience. The Lieutenancy of *London* directed, that two regiments of the trained bands should be out every night, and one in the day time, and several wealthy citizens enlisted as volunteers in the first regiment of foot guards, while all the public and private effects of the city began to be packed up, to be safe against the worst of events.

But the difficulties he had to encounter on land were no less discouraging than his disappointments; for some of the transports from *France* had been driven back, and others taken, as on the 25th of November the *Soleil* privateer on board of which was Mr. *Charles Ratcliff* and his son, 11 captains, 10 lieutenants, and 60 private men. The crew were sent to *Dover* castle, and the remaining prisoners distributed in the several men of war of Admiral *Vernon*'s Squadron; but the officers were

conducted to the *Tower*, where apartments were fitted up for them, young Mr. *Radcliff* being taken for the second son of the Pretender, now Cardinal *Steuart*, who was then in *France* amused with promises.

On these and other accounts the whole were brought into *Pittligo's* sentiments: however, they artfully concealed their designs, by rubbing up their arms, as if intending to fight, while a small party was detached to the *Trent*, to repair the bridge that had been broke down, and to lay others for passing over the troops, as if they designed to march forward to their adherents in *London*, who, in expectation of their approach, had privately dropped the Pretender's declarations at *St. James'* upon the parade, while others, less prudent, were for malicious expressions taken into custody, and received an arbitrary punishment for their ill-timed zeal; however, they continued in high spirits till the arrival of an express that their friends had retreated; on which the cannon sent to the camp returned, the King's advancing to it was deferred, the orders given to the troops were countermanded, the day duty of the trained bands was discontinued, and the volunteers were dismissed. These had passed in review before the King and Earl of *Stair* through *St. James's Park*, with their wives and children before them, to signify that all was at stake; and that they were determined to fight *pro aris et focis*.

On the 6th of December, at ten of the morning, after several feints, the rebels began their march from *Derby*, with their cavalry in front, and 13 pieces of cannon in the center; some seeming to move to *Loughborough*, entered that place, and plundered

plundered it of what was valuable, while others kept on the *Aspburn* side. When about a mile from town they halted till near four, and then went off, their carriages being on fall trot, and their foot almost running. While here, not content with their former demands, they sent a party to require a large sum of money, which by force they obtained.

Notwithstanding this device which kept their true intent a profound secret, yet that very night the Duke had an account of their march. By three next morning he put himself at the head of all the horse and dragoons, and 1000 volunteers mounted till the foot should come up, and sent expresses every where to the militia to intercept them; but this could not be so easily done, as these had hitherto retired before them, and because their motions were so quick and uncertain, their designs so intricate and dark.

However, the places on which they were supposed to have an eye, were put in a posture of defence. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Granby*, the Earls of *Cholmondley* and *Warrington*, with the Lord *Gower*, repaired to *Chester*, to stop their advancing into *Wales*, while the *Liverpool* battalion of 700 men were ordered to take post at *Warrington*. These picked up about sixteen stragglers, who afterward were sent to different goals. A thousand new raised foot were dispatched to *Newcastle* to prevent their coming there, or if they came to, keep them in play till the troops should come up. These, and indeed the whole militia were very eager in the service of the government, and willing to fight the rebels; but their leaders being men of experience, considering that

that they could not be defeated without the loss of some useful lives, they were referred to a more able avenger, who with his cavalry and foot, mounted on horses supplied by the country people, was now in full pursuit of them.

On the 8th they were at *Macclesfield*, and next day to *Manchester*, where they levied 16000*l.* and committed 13000*l.* of damages. On the 10th they marched to *Wigan*, and on the 11th to *Preston*, where they halted the 12th. On the 13th they made the longest march during this chase, and arrived at *Lancaster*, where they halted the 14th; but having intelligence that the troops were gaining ground of them, they continued their flight from the Duke, who about eleven of the night of the 10th arrived at *Macclesfield* from *Litchfield* with two regiments of dragoons, having marched about forty miles in two days through terrible roads, by *Uttoxeter* and *Cheadle*; and about an hour after the foot arrived, being provided with horses by the gentlemen of *Staffordshire*. After four hours repose they began their march for *Manchester*, which they entered upon the 12th amidst repeated huzzas, bonfires, illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy. By three next morning they were in motion, and marched so hastily, that the van reached *Preston* about four hours after the rebels had quitted the town; the first who entered were the *Georgia* rangers, soon after a party of the Duke of *Kingston's* horse, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Mordaunt*, and the Captains *Lord Byron* and *Lord Robert Manners*. It was here General *Oglethorpe* joined the Dukes army with 1000 horse, which were

were composed of *St George's* dragoons, the Duke of *Montagu's* horse, and those of *Marshall Wade*.

That officer had on the 24th of November marched by the way of *Durham*, *Darlington*, and *Richmond*, in order to cover *Torkshire*. On the 28th he was at *Pers Bridge*, whence he moved to *Wetherby*, where his troops halted the 5th of December, and received their bread from *Leeds*, as also shoes, stockings, and flannel waistcoats from *London*; from *Wetherby* he turned eastward to *Ferry-bridge*, where he arrived on the 9th, as did the cavalry at *Doncaster*. It was at this place that accounts were brought of the retreat of the enemy, for intercepting of whom *Wade* resolved to march by the way of *Wakefield* and *Hallifax* into *Lancashire*; but getting intelligence that they had slipped him, he marched back with his foot in several divisions; and that they might be under cover every night by reason of the freezing winds, the chilling frosts, and almost continual snows he took the rout of *Northallerton*, *Darlington* and *Durham*, and arrived at *Newcastle* on the 20th of December, having detached *General Oglethorpe*, as is already observed. The troops under him had marched from *Doncaster*, and in three days made about 100 measured miles over snow and ice, either to come up with the enemy, or to join the Duke of *Cumberland*, by whom that march was literally paralysed.

The rangers were immediately sent after the enemy, who had halted at *Lancaster* on the 14th, till the whole of their troops should come up. By two in the afternoon they got a sight of the rebels' rear, and two of them riding beyond the rest were taken prisoners.

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That day, about ten in the forenoon, *Perth*, who thought nothing of riding down three horses in a day for intelligence, reached *Kendal* with an hundred hussars, and whence, after halting for a little refreshment, he went on; but as the rear of his corps was entering upon the bridge, some country people being there at market mobbed them. One of them was killed by a musket from a window, and two taken prisoners. On this the party faced about; when as many as the bridge could give room to fired upon the mob, of whom a shoemaker and officer were killed, on which they dispersed, after the rebels had discharged a general volley, but at too great a distance to do harm. This being over, they posted to *Shap*, where on the 16th they arrived.

The day after the affair at *Kendal* the whole body of the rebels came into that town, where hearing that one of their hussars was slain, and two taken prisoners, they breathed nothing but revenge; the cesses and public money were demanded; under penalty of the severest execution. With the utmost difficulty could the magistrates pacify the chieftains, by representing the innocence of the inhabitants, and that in a public market offenders must be unknown. As *Loebiel* came at last to understand the matter, the contributions were abated; though a great sum was levied; and on their departure their last rank plundered some houses, stripped some people of their shoes, and attempted to fire a lodging; but the match did not take. On the 16th their main body marched for *Shap*, but the rear-guard halted at a farm four miles from *Kendal*, to prepare small carts for carrying their ammunition, which could not be got forward

forward over steep hills, and through a bad road; upon their four-wheeled waggon, that were mostly broken down. Next night these arrived at *Shap*; while the bulk of them marched with the young Adventurer to *Penrith*, where in the evening they were joined by the rear-guard.

While General *Anstruther* is advancing from *Coventry* to *London* with Colonel *Sowles* and *Skelton's* regiments of foot, which composed the first division of his Royal Highness's army, while Marshal *Wade* is marching his troops in different divisions toward *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*; and while the army is forming upon the *Kentish* coast, where a descent was apprehended, the Duke came up with the enemy upon the 18th at night with his cavalry; after an uninterrupted march of ten hours.

The rebels, being continually alarmed by the approach of the light horse, had sent a party through Lord *Lonsdale's* parks of *Lowther*, thinking to find some of these who had harrassed them about his house, as he was Lord Lieutenant of the county of *Cumberland*. Some of them were seen, but then at too great a distance to receive any loss. In their progress they took a running footman belonging to his Royal Highness, and a gentleman of the county, whom they called an officer: from these they were informed, that the Duke was within a mile of them with near 4000 horse and dragoons; besides light-horse and militia; on which they abandoned *Lowther-Hall* to make a stand against him. Accordingly Lord *George Murray*, who always commanded the rear-guard, took possession of the village of *Clifton*, a mile to the north of Lord *Lonsdale's* seat, upon the highway to, and two miles short of *Penrith*; he sent Colonel *Roy*

Steuart's regiment and *Clunie's* battalion to the bottom of the moor, while the *Macdonalds* of *Keppoch* stood at a little distance to wait the event; they fortified themselves behind three hedges and a ditch. It was now about an hour after sun-set, when the King's troops appeared upon the open moor with their leader, who directly ordered 300 of *Honeywood's* dragoons to dismount, and march forward to attack the enemy. They advanced to the very brink of the ditch, when the rebels fired from behind the hedges, and killed a few; on which the troops fired some platoons, and then retired a few paces. The enemy taking this for the beginning of a flight, crossed the ditch with incredible swiftness, and rushed on with sword and pistol in hand, but were so well received, that some of them lay dead upon the spot. The dragoons who had drawn their swords, were now ready to pay them in their own coin. The shouts began, the clashing of swords was heard; some of the rebels swords broke upon the steel caps which the cavalry commonly wear, on which they drew their daggers, and fought with great obstinacy for an hour; when observing the resolution of the forces, they returned with as much precipitation across the ditch, as at first they came on, and with full speed carried the consternation to *Penrith*, where the body of their army, with the artillery and baggage, was arrived. Such was the skirmish at *Clifton*, in which about twelve of the dragoons were killed, and twenty-four wounded, among whom were Colonel *Honeywood*, Captain *East*, and the Cornets *Owen* and *Hamilton*. On the side of the rebels were slain about twenty men, and seventy taken prisoners, among whom was Cap-
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tain *George Hamilton* of *Redhouse*, who then commanded in the absence of *Roy Stuart*; he had fallen upon the ground by some accident, and recovering himself, was just sitting up, when an hussar coming by, struck him upon the vertebræ of the neck, so that he fell back, with these words, "Oh, I am killed!" The hussar dismounted, took his money out of his pocket, with his watch, and then left him, till the country people, who had known his severity, tied up his head with an handkerchief, and delivered him a prisoner; he was mounted upon an horse, with his legs tied below its belly, and directly sent to goal. As the rebels, who had not advanced, carried off their killed and wounded on the other side of the ditch, the same could not be certainly known; they gave out that they only lost twelve men, who run up the moor; whereas his Royal Highness wrote to the King, that seventy of them were taken prisoners, besides these who were wounded and killed. The only thing the enemy had to boast of, was, that they took some broad swords from the dragoons; but from the best information, I find these only amounted to seven, which were taken up as they first leaped over the ditch, when the troops retired, or were seized from the wounded officers formerly named.

Being driven from the village and come to *Penrith*, a council of war was held, where *Roy Stuart* was for marching back and surprising the dragoons in the night time, or by day-break next morning, before the foot had arrived; but Lord *George Murray* was not for diminishing the forces by skirmishes, but for pursuing their rout, and joining Lord *John Drummond*, who had landed

from *Dunkirk* with a regiment of 600 men at *Montrose*. He was afterward joined by a like body of the Duke of *Gordon's* vassals, then under his brother Lord *Lewis*, the *Frazers* under the Master of *Levat*, the *Farquersons* under Francis *Farquerson* of *Monalty*, the *Chisholms* of *Strathglass* under the chieftain's youngest son, two battalions of the *Mackintoshes* raised by the Lady *Mackintosh*, whose husband was a Captain in the service of the government. These were commanded by *Macgillivray* of *Drumnaglass*, one of the branches of the *Catti*; in all about 2500 men.

Next day their whole army marched for *Carlisle*, where that night they arrived, and next morning, being the Chevalier's birth-day, he was complimented by the officers, and his army drawn up upon the moor in battalia, where they continued under arms till about twelve o'clock, giving out, that they were resolved to fight the Duke's army before the arrival of the artillery; but on hearing that the foot and artillery were fast approaching, they drew off with pipes playing and colours flying, leaving at *Carlisle* a garrison of about 400 men, consisting chiefly of the *English* that joined them, and some few *Scots* under the command of *John Hamilton*, the Duke of *Gordon's* factor, with a proper train of artillery, and a promise of returning with greater force in eight days.

By two o'clock they came up to *Langtown*, where they crossed the *Est*, then about four feet deep, and not very rapid, as the tide was in. The cavalry entered the water with the hussars in front, and the Pretender in the center, with a boy belonging to *Cappoch* behind him. When half way through, he observed two people giving way, and
seizing

seizing them by the hair, cried out in *Irish*, *coar*, *coar*, help, help, and so these were relieved; *Perth* being better mounted than the rest, crossed the water several times, and brought off a person every time he went. The infantry, with Lord *George Murray* at their head, arrived safe to the other side, by keeping hold of each other, according to the direction of the country people, and of some drovers who were among them.

Scarce were they in *Scotland*, when they divided into parties, the Chevalier with 4000 marching to *Annan*, and the other of 2500 to *Ecclefechan*, where they rested. Next day Lord *Elcho* was sent with 500 horse to *Dumfries*, where he levied the excise; and imposed on the town a contribution of 2000 l. and a thousand pair of shoes; seized 9 casks of gunpowder, all arms public and private, horses and horse furniture, while the private men among them committed above 4000 l. damages in the country, by plundering houses, robbing people on the highway, stripping others of their shoes and body clothes. Near 11000 l. was instantly paid by the magistrates, who on remonstrance, were told that they might be glad their town was not laid in ashes, considering their association, and seizing of their waggons.

Next day the Pretender, the *French* ambassador, *Perth*, *Lochiel*, *Glanranald*, *Cappach* and *Glengary*, went by the way of this pillaged town, while the Marquis of *Tullebardin*, Lord *George Murray*, Lord *Ogilvie*, *Nairn*, and *Pitligo*, took the *Mossfatt* road. They intended to march to *Edinburgh*, but hearing that General *Guest* had caused an intimation to be made from the pulpits, that he designed to keep the town out against them, till the

the arrival of the troops, they directed their rout to *Glasgow*, and in their way stopt at the castle of *Douglas*, where the Duke of that name behaved in a manner every way becoming his great and illustrious ancestors. The bulk of the private men were lodged in and about town, while the Chevalier with his guards and general officers repaired to the castle, hoping to prevail on the Duke to join, but in this they were greatly disappointed; for his Grace of *Douglas* was of the same sentiments as in the year 1715, when he accompanied the Duke of *Argyle* to *Sheriffmuir*, and with some of the principal noblemen* in the kingdom charged as a volunteer at the head of the cavalry.

The first who came to his Grace found him in a plain room and homely dress, sitting before a fire, near which was a table whereon were placed seven silver watches. On their entering he said, "Do any of you want to take a watch?" And so touching one with his fingers he added, "Take a watch, take a watch: here is variety." According three of them took watches, while others demanded his money and his arms: "It is not," said he, "the custom of a *Douglas* to deliver up his arms; but what cash I have about me shall be yours;" so rifling his pockets, he laid down his money § upon the table, which being soon snatched up, the keys of his bureau and other repositories were loudly called for. "No keys," said the Duke, "I have;

* The Duke of Roxburgh, the Earls of Rothes, Haddington, Loudon and Leven, the Earl of Islay, who received two wounds, and Archibald Douglas, Earl of Forfair, who received twenty-two.

§ According to my information 100l. twelve pounds of which was in silver.

“have; no keys will I give: Desire my cousin
 “*Perth* to speak with me.” Accordingly *Perth*
 came in, attended by some of the chieftains, among
 whom were *Lochiel* and Dr. *Cameron*. These, un-
 derstanding what had past, began to make an apo-
 logy, by setting of the justice of their cause, and
 proceeding to remonstrate upon the glory that
 would accrue to his Grace’s family, if he would
 join the righteous heir to the crown; they even
 went so far as to proffer to introduce him to the
 P—, or to bring the P— into the room to him.
 To which the Duke replied, with some emotion;
 “I neither want to see him, nor that he should
 “see me! Don’t tell me of heirs and pretenders to
 “the crown, I might put in for my own claim.†”
 So addressing *Perth*, “I thought,” said he, *Perth*,
 “you knew me better: you might have come to
 “me yourself.” Then turning to *Lochiel*, he
 added these very words, “You, Sir, have it in
 “your power to take me prisoner, but you have
 “it not in your power to make me assist or acknow-
 “ledge any heir or pretender to the crown. I lie
 “under obligations to no Prince, except to him
 “who sits upon the throne; and to him I am bound
 “by indissoluble ties of gratitude.” Having so
 spoke he turned upon his heel and retired, with all
 the dignity and air of a *Douglas*. There was an
 universal pause, the chieftains looked wistfully
 at one another: and, being struck with the resolu-
 tion and firmness of the man, they not only desist-
 ed

† William Earl of Douglas was a candidate for the throne
 against Robert II. the first King of the name of Stuart, anno
 1370, and his Grace was descended from Margaret Tudor,
 eldest daughter of Henry VII. of England.

ed from troubling him further, but saved his house from being plundered; however the army drank plentifully of his Grace's liquors, seized upon the arms which they found, and among these the sword which the great Sir *James Douglas* used at the terrible battle of *Bannockburn*, and at sixty-two more encounters, including those in *Spain* and in *Palestine*. But whether from the inability of any one man in the Pretender's army to wield the weapon, which had contributed so much to fix the independency of *Scotland*, and to pull down the followers of *Mahomet*, or from the reverence which many of them bore to the venerable name of its first owner, certain it is, the sword was sent back, and deposited in the place from whence it was taken.

Finding little encouragement at *Douglas* they proceeded forward to *Hamilton*, where, meeting with the other body of their troops, they continued two nights, the Chevalier and his officers lodging in the palace, as the Duke of *Hamilton* was at *Lisbon*, for the recovery of his health, which, through riot and irregularity, had been miserably impaired. After regaling themselves, their van set out for *Glasgow* on the 25th, and next day the Pretender followed with the main body. They indeed made a most dismal appearance, being very much jaded with their winter campaign, and chagrined at their not being joined by numbers of the *English*, as they expected: however, for their comfort, they had the news of the landings in the north country. The Chevalier received letters from his Brother, acquainting him, that the Courts of *France* and *Spain* had acknowledged his title, and had resolved to support him: and, to crown all, the *French* ambassador took on his public character.

The

The Duke of *Cumberland* not being able to pursue his advantage at *Clifton* through grounds covered with snow, roads broken with ice, and darkness which was the greatest difficulty, rested his troops that night, and next morning set out for and entered *Penrith* with all his forces; here were to be seen the melancholy vestiges of revenge; four shops having been broken, vast quantities of goods carried off, some thrown into the streets, torn and destroyed, as a punishment to the owners, for being concerned in the riot at *Kendal* on the Saturday before; some of their neighbours having informed against them. From the sight of this dismal scene, he began his march on the 21st for *Carlisle*, which he reached about one in the afternoon, and, at a mile's distance, surrounded it: Major-general *Bland* investing it on the *Scots* side, with *St. George's* dragoons, and three hundred of *Bligh's* regiment, to prevent any passage over the bridge of the *Eden*; Major *Adams* in the suburbs of the *English* gate; Major *Meric* at the *Irish* gate; and Lieutenant-colonel *St. Andrew Agnew* at the *Sally-port*, with 300 men: the Duke himself rode round the place, though sometimes balls lighted within a yard of his horse's head, as the garrison fired upon all in their view.

Mr. *Townley*, the commandant, ordered the guns to be mounted upon the walls, the houses within reach of the batteries to be burnt, and several chevaux de frize to be fixed at the gates and entrance of the city, to prevent the approach of the horse. He was for making sallies on the King's troops, but in this last he was opposed.

His Royal Highness observing the posture of the city, and that it might cost some lives to take

it by assault, without proper artillery, sent to *Whitehaven* for some battering pieces: accordingly four of eighteen pounders arrived upon the 24th, and six of the same size on the 25th. No sooner were these up than the Royalists began to erect batteries, notwithstanding a continued fire from the walls, and by the 28th one of six pieces was finished, from which they play'd upon the four gun battery of the town; but next day the firing ceased, for want of shot, till towards evening, when a fresh supply arrived, and the fire being renewed with great briskness for two hours, caused the utmost consternation among the inhabitants, who in the most suppliant manner appeared before the commandant, beseeching him to think of preserving their lives; he went directly to *Hamilton*, governor of the castle, to consult what was proper to be done. A capitulation was proposed, to which *Hamilton* agreed; two letters were immediately written, and a man sent with them; who being brought to the Duke by an advanced party, delivered the one directed to his Royal Highness, and the other for the commander of the *Dutch* troops, supposed to be with the army, signed *Geobegan*, "Commander of the *French* artillery, and
 " of the *French* garrison that was at, or might
 " come to *Carlisle*, for defence of the town and
 " citadel." The contents were to summon the *Dutch* officer to retire with his troops from the *English* army, under pretence of the capitulation of *Tournay*.

The night of the 29th was spent in raising a new battery of three eighteen pounders, which was completed by the morning; when the old battery fired a platoon, as an earnest of what was to follow;
 this

this menacing aspect soon intimidated the garrison, who directly hung out a white flag, and called over the walls that they had two hostages ready to be delivered at the *English* gate which is on the opposite side. On this Lord *Bury* and Colonel *Conway* were ordered to deliver the two following messages in writing ;

“ I. His Royal Highness will make no exchange
“ of hostages with rebels ; and desires they will let
“ him know by me, what they mean by hanging
“ out the white flag?

“ II. To let the *French* officer know, if there is
“ any in the town, that there are no *Dutch* troops,
“ but enough of the King's to chastise the rebels,
“ and those who dare to give them any assistance.”

In about two hours they brought a written paper, signed by ‘ *John Hamilton*, in the name of himself, and of all the officers and soldiers of the garrison,’ informing, ‘ that the white flag was hung out on purpose to obtain a cessation of arms, and to know what terms his Royal Highness will be pleased to give them upon surrender of the city and castle of *Carlisle* ;’ to which they received this declaration, signed by the Duke of *Richmond* Lieut. General.

“ All the terms his Royal Highness will or can
“ grant to the rebel garrison of *Carlisle*, are, That
“ they shall not be put to the sword, but be re-
“ served for the King's pleasure.”

The terms were agreed to, the governor and principal officers surrendered, after sending a paper recommending themselves to the King's mercy, and begging the intercession of his Royal Highness. On this Brigadier *Bligh* took possession of the town with 400 of the foot guards, 700 marching foot,

and 100 horse, who patrolled the streets in the night-time.

Next day, December 31st, the Duke entered *Carlisle* on horseback, amidst the blessings of the citizens, and the acclamations of the country people, who had conceived such an opinion of him, that upon his first appearance they flocked in with provisions, tools, and other necessaries, yea, and contributed with their own hands to advance the works against the town. They were enamoured to see the city restored to her King, to herself, and to them; while their satisfaction was crowned with seeing such things as were forcibly or otherwise taken away exposed to view, that all might receive their own on proving their property.

In the mean time the garrison was confined in the cathedral, and a list of their names and designations given in; but by a special order were neither stript of their money, nor their cloaths; for said his Highness, "They will need these during 'their confinement.'" There were here of *English* Colonel *Townley*, 5 captains, 6 lieutenants, 7 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 93 non-commissioned officers, drummers and private men, with the quartermaster *Cappoch*, chaplain to the *Manchester* regiment, who was to be no longer Bishop of *Carlisle*.

Of the *Scots*, Governor *Hamilton*, 6 captains, 7 lieutenants, one of whom, *James Nicholson* of *Perth's* regiment, broke the capitulation by endeavouring to escape, which circumstance at his trial, not a little militated against him; 4 ensigns, 1 surgeon, 256 non-commissioned officers, drummers, and private men.

Of *French*, Sir *Francis Geobegan*, a captain of *Lally's* regiment, 1 serjeant, with 4 private men,
Colonel

Colonel *Strickland*, of no regiment, and Sir *John Arbuthnot*, a captain in Lord *John Drummond's*. There were found six guns of one and half pounders, three of four pounders, one octagon, all with carriages, four cohorns, and two royals, all of brass.

His R. Highness, after having walked round the walls, and viewed the fortifications, was conducted to the same house, and laid in the same bed, where formerly the Pretender lay; and getting up as usual by three in the morning, had the pleasure about six hours after, of seeing not only the general officers and soldiers, but the nobility and gentry, yea, and multitudes, who from all quarters repaired to him. The city of *Edinburgh* sent four deputies, among whom was Mr. *Patrick Haldane*, late Solicitor for *Scotland*, a gentleman of great learning and peculiar address, to congratulate him on his success, and to intreat him to honour him with a visit, if he came to *Scotland*. They were introduced by the Earl of *Panmuer*, received in the most gracious manner, and had the honour to dine with him, when he drank to the prosperity of that town, and of the adjacent towns; his deportment while here was every way princely and serene; he encouraged the people to persevere in their loyalty, and to apply to their daily business, for said he, "there is nothing to fear;" when speaking of the Highlanders, "he lamented that so much bravery should be misemployed, and even wished they would disband in time, before the forces, whom he here took occasion to commend, were too much provoked against them, and their shattered remains should fall into the hands of offended justice." After settling matters, and leaving

leaving the command of the troops destined for *Scotland* to General *Hawley*, he set out on the 2d of January for *London*, where his presence was necessary for curbing any invasion, which at that time was expected, notwithstanding the following precautions.

A proclamation was issued out December 6th, for putting the laws, particularly the act of parliament of the 27th year of Queen *Elizabeth*, and another of the 3d of King *James* I. and VI. in execution against Jesuits and Popish priests, and promising a reward of 100 l. for every such person after conviction, within *London*, *Westminster*, the Borough of *Southwark*, or within ten miles round those places. Upon the 11th a priest, and his landlord for harbouring him, were confined in *Newgate* for remaining in *London* beyond the time appointed.

Upon the 12th advice came, that an embarkation of troops was carrying on with great expedition at *Dunkirk*, where already were most of the vessels for that purpose, and that furniture was shipped on board for 1000 horses. In two days a proclamation was published, commanding the wardens, sheriffs, mayors, lieutenants, justices of the peace, and other officers, to cause the coasts to be carefully watched, all cattle, and every other thing that might be serviceable to the enemy after landing, to be removed, alarm posts were fixed; the several guards were ordered to be in readiness to march upon the first notice of any tumult or insurrection in *London* or *Westminster*; the signal was firing seven half minute guns at the *Tower*, which were to be answered by the like number in *St. James's Park*; on hearing of which every officer
and

and soldier of the six regiments of the city militia, and the two regiments of the *Tower Hamlets*, were to repair with their arms, and a sufficient quantity of powder and ball, to their respective places of rendezvous, on pain of being punished as deserters. Signals also were settled on the coasts of *Sussex* and *Kent*, whither 4000 foot and 2500 horse were dispatched; the same was done on those of *Essex* and *Suffolk*, whither 3000 foot, and 1000 horse had repaired, by putting out flags in the day-time, and lights on the tops of the steeples and castles in the night, so that notice of an invasion would be at the *Tower* and *St. James's Park* in a few hours. The Lords of the Admiralty ordered all the men of war at *Portsmouth* to put to sea, and took up 40 merchantmen to be armed for cruising in the channel.

Admiral *Vernon*, whose name for the taking of *Porto Bello*, anno 1739, had once resounded throughout *Europe*, with Commodores *Smith* and *Boscawin*, were already at sea, each with a strong squadron. The *Dover* privateers had voluntarily gone to the Admiral, in order to receive and follow his instructions; on which he wrote them a letter from on board the *Norwich* in the *Downs*, dated December the 10th, assuring them, that he would take care to reward every one's services, and endeavour to procure from the crown an ample consideration for their zeal.

Upon the 12th two of those *Dover* ships fell in with eight transports bound from *Boulange* for *Dunkirk*, under convoy of a *French* man of war of 22 guns, to take troops on board; they seized three of them, sent one of them that night to the Admiral in the *Downs*, and the other two to *Dover*
next

next morning. Upon the 19th they fell in with about sixty sail, mostly fishing boats and small vessels from *Dunkirk*, bound, as they supposed, for *Calais* or *Boulogne*, to take in troops. Near the first place they drove seventeen of them on shore, blew up one, sunk two, and brought three away, two of which were directly carried into *Dover*, but the third was lost in that bay. All these vessels had some warlike stores on board, such as small cannon, powder, ball, horse colours, clothes, bedding for soldiers, and poles about seven feet long, spiked at each end with iron. Two of less value from *Roan* to *Boulange* were afterward sent in.

The very day that the *Dunkirk* embarkation met with this disaster, the King sent a message to both Houses of Parliament, "that he had undoubted intelligence of the preparations at *Dunkirk*, and other *French* ports, for invading his kingdoms, and that already a person * had actually landed in *Scotland*, and emitted a treasonable declaration at *Montrose*, December the 2d." That he was come with written orders from the *French* King, to make war upon the Elector of *Hanover*, and those who would not assist the Prince Regent in the recovery of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, whose undoubted title his most Christian Majesty, with the concurrence of the King of *Spain*, is resolved to support, at the expence of all the men and money he is master of. King *George* further told them, that "he had ordered into this kingdom the 6000 *Hessian* troops

* Lord John Drummond, Brother-German to Perth.

“ troops taken into *British* pay the 11th of June
 “ last, by virtue of a treaty with the King of *Sweden* as *Landgrave* of *Hesse Cassel*, the better to
 “ prevent the invasion and suppress the rebellion;”
 and concludes, “ that he has no doubt of their en-
 “ abling him to make good that agreement, and
 “ concur with him in such measures as may best
 “ defeat the attempt.”

A copy of the treaty being laid before them, an
 address was drawn up, “ thanking his Majesty for
 “ communicating the advices he had received, and
 “ for his paternal care in providing for the security
 “ of his people, by directing the *Hessians* to be
 “ brought into the kingdom; and assuring him of
 “ their making good the expence on that account;
 “ and of their readiness with their lives and for-
 “ tunes to support his sacred person and govern-
 “ ment;” and so concluded with “ declaring their
 “ detestation and abhorrence of the impious de-
 “ sign.”

Next day the country was alarmed by a letter
 from Admiral *Vernon* from on board the *Norwich*
 in the *Downs*, to Sir *John Norris*, at *Deal-Castle*,
 or to the Mayor of *Deal* in his absence, informing,
 that great numbers of small embarkations were
 brought from *Dunkirk*, and that several of them
 were laden with all sorts of military stores: that
 the *Irish* troops had marched to *Calais* from *Dun-*
kirk, where General Count *Lowendal*, and many
 other officers, were with a young person, said to
 be the Pretender's second son; and advising to
 assemble the neighbouring towns in their defence,
 promising on his part the cruizers signal, which is
 a jack flag flying at the top-mast-head, and to fire
 15 S s a gun

a gun every half hour, in case the enemy approached.

The Deputy-Lieutenants of *Kent* published the letter, with a warm invitation for all within twenty miles of the coast to appear in arms on the 22d on horseback in *Swinfield Minis*, and to bring two days provision with them. About 4000 people of the adjacent parishes took arms, and brought in pick-axes, shovels, and other necessaries.

Notwithstanding these advices, many were of opinion, that the preparations about *Dunkirk* and its neighbourhood were only to amuse; for Captain *Gregory* of the *Norwich* reported, that upon taking a view of *Dunkirk*, there were but five or six vessels in the road, and very few in the harbour. Commodore *Knowlet*, afterward Governor of *Jamaica*, informed the Admiralty, that he had stood within half a mile of the piers head of *Boulogne*, and within two or three of *Calais*; that in the harbour of the former there were not sixty of all kinds, the largest of them a galliot hoy, whose gaff was much higher than any of the other vessels' mast heads; and that there was not a single one which had a topsail yard rigged aloft; that within the pier of the latter there were three or four topsail vessels, the rest, about thirty, being only galliots or fishing-boats. From these reports we may judge, whether the fears of a *French* landing were ill or well founded? Which ever was the case, the enemy on finding how the scale was turned, gave over their alarms.

For the troops were cantoned conveniently along the coast, and the Duke was returned from the chase to *St. James's*, where on the morning of the 5th, being Sunday, he arrived in perfect health,

was at chapel, afterward in the drawing-room, and did not appear in the least fatigued, though he had not been in bed for three days, his countenance being as vigourous and lively, as if he had not gone through a winter's campaign in the midst of snow, ice, and other hardships. The whole Court appeared very gay on the occasion, and every one seemed to take a particular pride in paying him their compliments,

Besides these cantonments, and the forces that were to encamp at *Finchley*, there were two armies, one under General *Wade* at *Newcastle*, and another who had served so well under the eye of his Royal Highness, composed of the regiments of Lieutenant-Generals *Ligonier*, *Richmond*, *Sinclair*, and *Albemarle*; Major-Generals *Howard*, *Skelton*, and *Bland*; Brigadiers *Semple*, *Douglas*, and *Bligh*; Artillery, *Lesley*, *Bernard*, and *Roper's*, Brigadier-Majors, Colonel *Sowle's*, and Colonel *Johnson's* regiments; besides *Gower's*, *Montague's* *Halifax's*, *Granby's*, and *Cholmondley's* new raised regiments of foot, each consisting of 824 men, *Montague's* and *Kingston's* new levied horse, containing each 273; together with Major-General *Oglethorpe's* body of 1000 horse, with which he had been detached from General *Wade*, who was no sooner at *Newcastle*, than he sent 1000 of his best infantry, and 500 horse to the assistance of the Duke, who, to keep up an harmony among all ranks, never failed, as in the case of the gentlemen and inhabitants of *Whitehaven*, and of the few who rose under the Duke of *Portland*, to return his hearty thanks in writing, for their commendable zeal in the cause of their country.

But the gloomy prospect of meeting with too

warm a reception after landing, was not more discouraging than the landing was precarious and uncertain; for *Vernon*, whom the *French* then as much dreaded as the *English* loved and admired, was at sea with 11 ships of the line, from 70 to 16 guns, 15 small tenders, privateers, and custom-house sloops, leaving proper squadrons under the respective commanders at the places where attacks were apprehended.

But further, the *British* nation were not single in defending King *George's* title to the crown, by covering the sea with fleets, and guarding the coasts with numerous forces; for *Europe*, except *France* and *Spain* declared for it.

Christian VI. of *Denmark*, more united by interest than blood, or the recent tie of marriage betwixt his son and the *British* Princess *Louisa*, who since died in childbed, proffered not only the 12000 troops in *British* pay, but all his forces, if they could be carried over. The old King of *Sweden*, that intimate acquaintance of our Kings *George I.* and *II.* rightly judging, what was the case of King *George* to-day might be his on the morrow, declared his abhorrence of the impious attempt, contrary to the faith of treaties; and though King of a people naturally lovers of the *British* nation, but through policy in the interest of *France*, yet he let out the troops of his *Landgraviate* in support of our King; and it is remarkable that many *Swedes* served among them. The same might be observed of the King of *Poland*, who, notwithstanding he had one daughter married to the Dauphin of *France*, another to the King of *Naples*, and had his brother Count *Saxe*, whose incredible strength of body was not so great, as his bravery and

and gallantry of mind, a Mareschal of the *French* armies; yet suddenly he clapt up a peace with the King of *Prussia*, under the meditation of King *George*, that the former, with the House of *Austria*, might be at more liberty to act in support of his right. The *Prussian* Monarch, tho' frequently so docile as to march his army by the direction of the Court of *France*, and receive his 1,400,000 florins, offered his whole army to his Royal uncle. The Empress of *Russia*, tho' raised to the throne by the intrigues of the House of *Bourbon*, yet, pressing the steps of her father *Peter* the Great, proffered a quota of troops to be employed as the Court of *Britain* should direct. For these and other reasons, *France* left *England* to extinguish the rebellion now driven into *Scotland*, where several vicissitudes of good and bad fortune had in the Pretender's absence attended the royal cause.

For no sooner had the rebels left that kingdom, than the œconomy of the different places was restored as much as possible, only the Court of Session did not sit, which made it necessary to frame an act of parliament, securing every person's right, and importing, that the time of the troubles should not be detrimental in any action.

The clergy now returned to their several congregations, recommended loyalty to their King, and a regard to their country.

The Presbyterian church of *Scotland* is founded upon the plan of *M. Calvin*, a *Frenchman*; with this difference, that whereas he reformed from the church of *Rome*, they have reformed from him. The *Westminster* confession of faith is the standard by which they go: in their worship they neither use liturgy, nor notes; and in their discipline, there

is no subordination of officers among them. They have synods, instead of diocesan bishops; and their assemblies supply the place of convocations of the clergy in *England*. At that time some of their private ministers were loose in their morals and vicious in their lives: and yet there were many men of probity and conscience among them. Mr. *Kinloch* and Mr. *Wallace* were eminent for piety and learning; the hospitality of Principal *Campbell*, of the college of *Glasgow*, was remarkable and great; the prudence of Mr. *Ramsay*, minister of *Kelso*, of Mr. *Kirk* at *Dornoch*, and of Mr. *Brown* at *Selkirk* was universally admired. These and some others whom we could name, might have adorned any church. But indeed those in the most lucrative places were too obnoxious to the censure of the enemies of the government. *Wishart*, the Principal of the college of *Edinburgh*, was addicted to the grossest and most sensual voluptuousness, a man of little learning, and of still less piety and religion. *Gowdie*, the Professor, was a dull man, and established there only that he might be enabled to discharge his debts; he was obstinate to the highest degree, and so trifling, that he wasted the time of the students upon such topicks as, the perpetual virginity of the Virgin *Mary*, and whether or not *Adam* was the first man; and so devoted to the old *Scottish* words, that he has used them in his most elaborate discourses; a man without learning, without sympathy, and without feeling for his fellow creatures: however, with all his faults, both he and *Wishart* were intirely devoted to the government: nor do I believe that his Majesty has in the whole circle of his dominions, more faithful subjects, more cordially affected to his person,

son, family, and government, than the national church of *Scotland*. The masters of the universities were generally men of probity and skill, and the masters of schools were very harmless and laborious men, extremely well skilled in classical learning.

The commission of the *Scots* assembly published a warning to the people, and the inferior judicatures followed their example.

The masters of the university at *Edinburgh* returned, and on the 21st began to teach in their respective halls, being now secure, as General *Roger Handasyde*, in Sir *John Cope's* place, had arrived from *Berwick* upon the 14th with Colonel *Price's* and *Ligonier's* regiments of foot, *Hamilton's* and *Gardiner's* dragoons. The night they entered was one of the most boisterous that has been observed, and proved fatal to several ships; among whom was the *Fox* man of war of 20 guns, which perished with her crew. Her wreck some time after was thrown in nigh *Dunbar*, where was found and decently interred the corpse of Captain *Beaver*, who had so well defended the passage of *Kinghorn* during the stay of the rebels in the *Lothians*. His skull was terribly fractured, and his eyes eat out of his head, he having, as was apprehended, been dashed against some crags by the violence of the waves; his whole body was miserably disfigured, and had it not been for his legs, which were remarkably long, he could not have been distinguished.

On the 13th the Lords of Justiciary, attended by the Freeholders of the counties of *Merse*, of *East* and *Mid-Lothians*, entering the city on horseback, and passed through the street then crowded with

with spectators. They were met by the late magistrates at the cross, and loudly huzzaed by the people. Thence they proceeded to the *Parliament Close*, where alighting, they advanced to the house, and being seated, *Andrew Fletcher* of *Miltoun*, then Lord Justice *Clerk*, informed them, “ That
 “ he and his brethren, conscious of their duty to
 “ their King; their country, and themselves, laid
 “ hold of the first opportunity of returning to
 “ this capital, to endeavour with their help to
 “ restore peace, and revive the civil government;
 “ to shew to the world how little accession the
 “ southern parts of *Scotland* had to the recent
 “ calamities from which they were lately deli-
 “ vered; that Marshal *Wade* had ordered a body
 “ of troops to march for protection of this city;
 “ and the adjacent country from insults; that if
 “ the present troubles did not subside, provision
 “ should be made against any future disturbance;
 “ that the heritors of every parish should make
 “ up lists of the able-bodied men in their respective
 “ lands proper to be entrusted with arms; that
 “ these were to be delivered to the respective she-
 “ riffs, to be transmitted by them to the persons
 “ appointed by the King for that purpose; that
 “ application should be made to the established
 “ church for their assistance in that affair.”

The sight of these was very agreeable upon the anniversary of the battles of *Preston* and of *Dumblain* thirty years before; the castle fired a round from her great guns, and the music-bells played tunes suitable to the occasion. The methods proposed were complied with. A new subscription was opened by the city of *Edinburgh* for raising 10000 foot for his Majesty's service, and persons by
 advertisement

advertisement were invited to sign; gentlemen and clergy, some of whom headed their parishes, and acted the soldier, appeared in numbers; and in a short time a sufficient sum was paid down; the drums beat through the city for recruits, and such as had listed formerly, but had been obliged to disband on account of the rebels, were now desired to repair to their duty, when they should enter into the pay of 4*s.* per week, without discount. In a short time 400 men enlisted, and were daily trained in *Parliament* and *College Close* by such as had skill.

The 18th of December was by a Royal Proclamation, dated November 12th, to have been observed as a day of humiliation and fasting; but by an unlucky circumstance it was kept at *Edinburgh* and many other places rather as a festival; for on the Monday before, a false piece of intelligence, that the Duke had attacked the rebels at *Lancaster*, and totally routed them, being published in the *Evening Courant*, the symptoms of grief gave place to those of joy; the clergy preached the news from the pulpits, and exulted in the event.

The family of *Argyle* have ever been patrons of liberty. *John* the second Duke of *Argyle* promoted the union of the two crowns, and defeated the rebel army in the year 1715, when the present Duke, a nobleman of the utmost politeness and humanity, was his aid de camp. At the breaking out of the rebellion 1745, *Archibald* the third Duke of *Argyle*, a nobleman who shone among the sons of genius, was of signal service to the government. He had been at *Rosneath*, one of his family seats, and getting one of the Pretender's letters into his hand, and information concerning another, he shewed the same to Mr. *Craigie*, the then Lord

Advocate, who only laughed at the matter; adding, that nothing could be apprehended from seven persons: to which his Grace replied, "On account of the fewness of his numbers the more is to be feared: and," with a smile, "the number seven is frequent enough among the *Romans*." The matter was likewise laughed at by the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, and other officers of state: which when his Grace observed, he refrained from coming to the privy council, till sent for, and then he readily told his mind; and wrote to the principal gentlemen to be ready in the service of their country.

The militia of *Argyleshire* were soon mustered, the act of parliament against any number of Highlanders rising in arms being suspended: and happy had it been for many poor people that the same had sooner been done. Arms and warlike stores were shipped off from *Liverpool* for their use; and the present Duke of *Argyle*, then General *Campbell*, set out from *London*, to take upon him the command of these levies.

That officer had on the 4th of November arrived in the *Thames* with his regiment from *Flanders*, as did those of General *Handasyde*, Brigadiers *Skelton*, *Bligh*, *Mordaunt*, and *Semple*, with the Highlanders. All these officers, from the moment of their landing, were busied in the service of the Government; but none more than General *Campbell*, who arrived at *Inverara* on the 31st of *December*, with a commission to raise 3400 men, which was soon effected. The private soldiers had full pay, but the officers only half. One party was stationed at *Campbelltown* in *Kentire*, to prevent any invasion from *Ireland*, and to overawe the disaffected clans scattered through the shire: the
camps

camp was formed at *Inverara*, whence detachments were sent out to protect the country. One of these, of 300 men, attacked a squadron of the *Macgregors*, put them to flight, killed two and took seven prisoners. Garrisons were put into the castles along the coast, and the remainder only waited an opportunity of joining the regular forces.

So laudable an example was soon followed thro' the western counties. The city of *Glasgow* raised a regiment at her own expence; which was provided with arms from the castle of *Edinburgh*, and put under the command of the Earl of *Hume*. The town of *Paisley* levied a corps of 210 men. The shire and town of *Renfrew* armed, under the Earl of *Glencairn*; as did the inhabitants of the respective counties, under their immediate superiors and Lords. The same spirit of loyalty spread through the eastern and southern parts of the kingdom, while the storm raged in the north, and several unhappy people were carried down the stream of rebellion.

Some small detachments of *French* troops dropped in with their privateers; and on the 30th of November Lord *John Drummond* arrived at *Montrose*, with 600 men, 15 pieces of cannon, some of which of 18 pounders; these animating the party, they marched to *Perth*, where they formed a camp, to which some people of desperate conditions actually repaired.

Among the number of those was Lord *Lewis Gordon*, a petulant and refractory young man; the late Earl of *Cromartie*, a nobleman who in the heat of liquor was prevailed on to join. When at *Inverness* he proffered his service to Sir *John Cope*, who not only refused it, but slighted his Lordship's

son so far, as not to bestow upon him a commission in a regiment of Highlanders then raising for the Government: a circumstance which however trivial in itself, was yet made an handle of to stir up a man who had never been remarkable for judgment or sagacity, during the course of his life.

Such a powerful appearance in the north, under the Viscount of *Strathallan*, who had been left by the Pretender to secure the landings from *France*, at last prevailed on the *Frazers* to espouse the cause, in which their Chieftain had been so long and so deeply involved.

The Earl of *Loudon*, being then in the country, told Lord *Lovat*, that he had as much against him as would hang every *Frazer* in his district; and the Lord President of the Court of Session dissuaded him by letters, to the utmost of his power: the former went to his seat of *Castle Downie*, planted cannon against it, and carried old *Simon* in a chaise to the prison of *Inverness*; out of which in three days *Frazer* of *Gortuleg* delivered him; for carrying a bundle of straw into his room, under pretext of forming an easy bed for his Lordship, he stripped him to his shirt, rolled him in the straw, carried him out on his shoulders, and that night conducted him to *Gortuleg*; where he kept up a treasonable correspondence with the Pretender and his principal followers.

This powerful party soon lorded it over the friends of the Government; a great body of whom was routed at *Inverury* by Lord *Lewis Gordon* on the 22d of December: the *Monros* and *Macleods*, with Mr. *Maitland* the sheriff, were defeated by an handful of men.

An impotent attack or a faint resistance is the greatest service that one enemy can do to another, the latter of which happened at *Inverury*, and at once determined the fate of that vast tract of ground interjacent between the *Forth* and the *Spey*. The public money was raised: the farmer and the proprietor were taxed in an arbitrary manner; the cattle and carriages of the labourer were seized, and the landings from *France* were supported. Lord *Loudon* could not spare any men from his camp to regain the superiority; he and the President had sufficient business on their hands, to thwart the stratagems of *Lovat*, and to hinder recruits from going to the enemy: and indeed in this they acted their parts so well, that Sir *Alexander Macdonald*, who could command 800 followers, with above 5000 others, were retained in their allegiance and duty.

But notwithstanding all their advantages, their communication with the lower parts of *Scotland* was cut off, by a squadron under the command of Admiral *Byng*, and sometimes their reinforcements from *Dunkirk* were taken; as on the 25th of November, when the *Lewis* privateer of *Dunkirk* was taken by the *Milford* man of war, and in it 106 men, 330 stand of arms with bayonets, as many broad swords, with a great number of saddles and other furniture for horses. To balance this loss to the Chevalier, the *Hazard* sloop of war fell into the hands of the *French*, who carried her to *Dunkirk*, and converted her into a privateer, to which they gave the name of the *Prince Charles Snow*. She three times carried troops money, and ammunition, for the use of the enemy, and at a critical juncture

junction fell into the hands of her first owners, who restored her to her service and name.

Such was the condition of *Scotland* when the Pretender entered it, and by his presence threw the balance into the scale of his party. At *Glasgow* they were supplied with every thing necessary, such as tartan, broad cloaths, linen bonnets, and shoes, the city was assessed in ten thousand pounds, and the army lived upon free quarter. *Paisley* and *Renfrew*, with the other adjacent counties, were assessed in sums beyond their ability: and as the people of *Lismabogoe* had been, in a particular manner zealous against his cause, the same was burnt to the ground. In short the Highland army spread themselves from the *Clyde* to the *Forth*, obliging the regular forces to withdraw to *Edinburgh*, opening to themselves a communication with their friends in the northern counties. The young Chevalier wrote a letter with his own hand to Lord *Lovat*, confirming another that had been signed by three of the principal chieftains, earnestly begging he would pull off the mask, and take upon him the sole command as generalissimo.

After a repose of nine days, he set out on the 4th of January for *Sterling*, taking hostages with him for payment of the money extracted from the city: they soon got possession of *Sterling*; but the castle there held out against them. General *Blake-ney*, the governor, refused to treat with them any other way than from the mouths of his cannon; and they had got no artillery fit for carrying on a siege; that article was supplied by Lord *John Drummond*, and was transported on a brig which they had seized; the *Pearl* sloop of war not being
able

able, on account of the shallowness of the water, to prevent it: nor could they hinder the troops from *Perth* and *Montrose*, on account of the fire of the batteries that had been erected on either shore by the enemy, from joining the main body of the Pretender's forces.

Things being in this situation, the army of Marshal *Wade* was ordered to march into *Scotland*, to perfect what his Royal Highness the Duke had so well begun; and the command thereof was given to Lieutenant-general *Henry Hawley*, an officer of experience, tho' but indifferently beloved by the private men. He had been a Lieutenant-colonel in *Evan's* dragoons at the battle of *Sheriffmuir*, a circumstance which promoted this choice more than the rigour and severity for which he was but too remarkable. The officer next to him was Major-general *John Husk*, a gentleman who knew *Scotland* well, having been quartered with his regiment of *Welsh* fusileers in the *Canongate* of *Edinburgh* about ten years before. He was exceedingly well beloved both by the forces and by the people of the country.

The sending of *Wade's* army was extremely well judged, as that under his Royal Highness had gone through so severe a campaign. Perhaps no *English* army ever marched in so rigorous a season, and never did troops go more chearfully through danger and fatigue. It must be owned that they had uncommon encouragement: the King sent each soldier two pair of shoes on his own charge; the Prince of *Wales* remitted to them 500 l. the citizens of *London* sent them 12,000 pair of breeches, 12,000 shirts, 10,000 woollen caps, 10,000 pair of woollen stockings, 1000 blankets, 12,000 pair
of

of knit woollen gloves, 9000 pair of woollen spat-terdashies: the Duke allowed them 10 l. every day out of his private purse, to enable the private men to pay the landlords of the inns where they might dine, or be quartered over night; but the generality of the inn-keepers refused to take any money from them, and the country people furnished them with horses. Notwithstanding the march must be supposed to be fatiguing, to men who sometimes entered a town about eleven at night and were obliged again to be in arms by three in the morning; yet

*No toils were painful that could danger show,
Nor climes unlovely that contain'd a foe.*

The troops destined for *Scotland* set out by detachments, and by different roads: some took the rout of *Haddington*, others that of *Lauder*, and a third marched by the coast road, through *Dunbar* by *North Berwick*; finding every where the most hearty and cordial reception. At every place where they halted they were supplied from a fund appropriated for the purpose: each soldier had a pound of beef, a pound of bread, two-thirds of a quarters of gin or brandy, and a bottle of ale: and the farmers for thirty miles round brought their horses to help them forward. By the 10th of January the whole had arrived at *Edinburgh*, where they were joined by *Gardiner's* and *Hamilton's* dragoons, *Price's* and *Ligonier's* regiments of foot, the *Glasgow* and *Paisley* militia, which with those of the *Lothians* amounted to 4000 men, well armed, well clothed and hearty in the government's cause.

On

On the 13th of January General *Huske* marched with the foot regiments of *Monro*, *Cholmondely*, *Price*, *Ligonier*, and *Batterau*, the *Glasgow* militia, *Gardiner's* and *Hamilton's* dragoons; and next day the regiments of *Price*, *Barrel*, and *Pulteney* marched by the way of *Borrowstonness*; and on the 15th were followed by *Flemings*, *Blakeney's*, and a battalion of *Sinclair's*. They all rendezvoused on the 16th at *Falkirk*, where, next day, they were joined by 1300 of the *Argyleshire* militia. They indeed made a very noble appearance, and amounted to 8000 men: two-fourths of which knew their business very well, and the far greater part had served under his Royal Highness at the battle of *Fontenoy*. In short, nothing but management was wanting to bring things to an effectual and speedy conclusion.

General *Hawley*, having followed the army the day after the last division had quitted the city, and brought with him *Cobham's* dragoons, fell into one of these mistakes which since the days of *Sampson* have been accounted fatal to a commanding officer.

Scarce was he at *Falkirk*, when he received a message from the Countess of *Kilmarnock*, desiring the favour of his company. An invitation from a Lady so remarkable for wit and gaiety, could not be refused. *Hawley* went up to the Callendar, where he was entertained with great politeness and decorum, and the morning of the 17th proving rainy, she made a posset for him with her own hands, to fortify him against the damp and the cold; he continued at the Callendar till between twelve and one in the afternoon, notwithstanding the frequent expresses brought him, that the enemy was in the neighbourhood. At last one of these

was so importunate, that the General resolved to depart, and yet the ascendancy of the Countess was such, that she prevailed on him to dine before setting out: and in the mean time the troops in the camp sat down to dinner also; but before it was ended the Highland army was observed to move up the hill, and to extend themselves upon it, at the distance of a mile south-west from them; for Lord *George Murray*, brother to the Duke of *Athole*, who was that day the chief commander, had artfully placed the standard at the *Torwood*, where it continued standing, till the Highlanders were just entering the ground they intended for the field of battle. About two hours before, General *Huske* had, through a glass, discovered their colours at four miles distance, directly west of his camp: on which he formed the army, to prevent a surprize; but could not march forward, either to the heights whereon was the battle, or toward the standard, without orders from the superior officer.

The Royalists looked at each other with impatience and astonishment, gazing for *Hawley*, but *Hawley* was not to be found. Toward three o'clock he appeared all at once, and observing the enemy on the brow of the hill, he put himself at the head of the cavalry, who advanced with great resolution and swiftness sword in hand, the infantry following as fast as possible, and huzzaing as they approached. Unhappily for him the enemy was duly prepared; for just when the horses were within three yards of their lines, they gave so close a fire, that men and horses promiscuously tumbled down; some indeed broke through their ranks, but these opening, every one of them was either killed or taken prisoners; while the major part turned about their heads, and scattered

scattered with great impetuosity and vehemence, in spite of their riders, who did every thing possible to retain them. They returned upon the flank of the *Glasgow* militia, which they greatly disordered; the confusion spreading insensibly, four regiments out of six, that composed the first line, were hurried down the stream, and the rout had been general, had not Brigadier *Cholmondely* stopt it, at his division; for wheeling with *Barrel's* and *Ligonier's* foot, the Old Buffs, and a battalion of the *Scots Royal*, these advanced some paces with a good aspect, and the enemy began to hasten forward; but that division commanded by General *Huske* gave them so close and full a fire, as made them halt without proceeding further. Unhappily for the troops, Colonel *Cunningham* of the train, had fled off without planting the artillery, and the conductors had run away with their horses. A violent storm of wind began to blow full in the face of the Royal army, wet their cloths and their cartridges, so as to render them incapable to proceed, as the flints would not strike, the powder would not burn, and the twentieth gun was not fit to be discharged. Both armies looked at each other, the Highlanders being unwilling to move for fear of an ambush, and in hopes of surprizing them next morning, as they had done by *Cope* at *Preston-pans*. General *Huske* saw into the extent of their design, and therefore moved off, with drums beating, colours flying, and the other signs of a brave and resolute behaviour, and joined the shattered runaways, who by this time had been rallied by Sir *John Mordaunt*, as were the dragoons by Colonel *Francis Ligonier*. They all advanced to *Falkirk*, where, for fear of a surprize, it was

agreed to march that night to *Linlithgow*, as it was not safe to stay in the neighbourhood of a resolute enemy, without cannon; or any other kind of artillery. This being settled, the *Argyleshire* militia drew up at the bottom of a park dyke, and along their line the troops defiled, till all were passed, and the militia forming, brought up the rear. They advanced that night to *Linlithgow*, viz. six miles, the wind and rain still continuing, and next night the whole came to *Edinburgh* in such panic and surprize, that I really believe one thousand desperadoes could at that time have cut the whole army to pieces. One thing is certain, that if ever the Highlanders wanted a day fit for using their swords, it was the 17th of January 1746, when they were so much assisted by a storm, and the bad management of the officer commanding against them. It is true, that on the field of battle the two men, who had the Pretender's cause most at heart, were that day the ruin thereof. When his cavalry first began to pursue on the separating of the dragoons, Roy *Steuart* cried out, " Gentlemen, keep your ranks, these are only *Cope's* dragoons, you have the battle yet to fight;" and when Lord *John Drummond*, another aid de camp, observed the Royal Scots to wheel, he called out to the troops, who were upon the point of running down upon them, " that regiment behaved admirably well at *Fontenoy*, pray keep your ranks;" and so they desisted: but what was still more, Lord *Kilmarnock* proffered to conduct them through some inclosures, by which they could get sooner to *Linlithgow* than the Royalists; but in this he was not believed.

Such surprizing escapes were attributed by some

to the immediate hand of Providence, without considering the mean by which the interposition thereof so signally appeared. If my heart does not deceive me, no man is, or at least ought to be, more convinced of the reality of a superintending Providence than I am. And on that day it was visible indeed! but visible as it was, let us trace out the mean by which the same wrought so powerfully in behalf of the King's army.

When the enemy saw that the royalists were gone, they began to march, both to secure the baggage of the troops, or to attack them at *Falkirk*, as they saw opportunity. *Cameron of Lochiel*, with his two battalions, entered the west end of the town, just as the rear of the King's army was marching from the east, and *Falkirk* is not above three quarters of a mile long. At this very instant he was told, that the *Argyleshire* militia brought up the rear; an event which not a little startled him, and all at once made him become pensive and thoughtful. By his mother, a sister of Sir *Duncan Campbell* of *Lochnel*, he was related almost to all the officers of the *Lorn* battalion. And by his lady, a daughter of Sir *James Campbell*'s of *Achinbreck*, he was connected with all the officers of the *Kilmartin* battalion; and these were the militia who were there. Many of his own officers were closely connected with them likewise not only by blood but by correspondence, neighbourhood, and traffic. He was only in the rebellion from a false principle of honour, and from passing his word to Lord *Levat* in an unguarded moment; he could not think of fighting hand to hand with men for whom he had a rough kindness, and the most sincere and

ate regard. The other officers observing a sort of backwardness in him, without considering the prevailing motive, gave over all thoughts of a pursuit for that night; contenting themselves with seizing upon *Hawley's* baggage (among which was the very post chaise that had carried him to *Scotland*) with that of the general officers, nay, of the whole army; for neither soldiers nor officers retained any thing but their arms.

Such was the battle of *Falkirk*, in which the King's army were repulsed, but not broken, and in which the enemy made so little of their advantage. On the side of the former 250 were killed, among whom were Colonel Sir *Robert Monro*, the Lieutenant-Colonels *Whitney*, *Biggar*, and *Powell*, three cornets of horse, thirteen captains, and two Lieutenants, 300 were wounded, and about 230 taken prisoners (but these were mostly of the *Glasgow*, and other militia) with Captain *Thornton*, and seventeen of his *Yorkshire* blues. He continued among them for some days, when *William Henderson*, a chapman, contrived his escape, by secreting him in a chest, and keeping him close in that repository, even while the rebels were in the room in quest of him.

On the side of the enemy about fifty were killed, but none of note, and as many wounded; among whom were Lord *John Drummond* and *Lochiel*; one Major *Macdonald* was taken prisoner. He had seized upon one of the dragoon horses after his rider had been killed, and mounted on horseback. The horse, on hearing the drum beat to arms, in consequence of *Ligonier's* rallying the dragoons, run off with the major into the midst of them without halting. Finding himself in a
net,

net, he began to act as one of the *Argyleshire* militia; but General *Huske* discovered that he was an imposture, and had him directly secured. He was afterward hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Carlisle*.

Never was a body of forces of such undoubted bravery and reputation repulsed with so small a loss, and never was a victory improved to so little advantage; and yet the poor country continued to bleed for a time, in consequence of the strange and unaccountable event, which was indeed the more surprizing, as it was believed at *St. James's* that the rebellion had breathed her last, and the public tranquillity had been restored.

When the news of the battle of *Falkirk* first reached *London*, it raised an universal surprise; for the removing of which the Duke of *Cumberland* set out on the 25th, by two in the morning, for *Scotland*; where he arrived about three in the morning of the 30th, attended by *James* Duke of *Athole*, the Earl of *Albemarle*, Lord *Bury*, Lord *Cathcart*, and some other officers. The citizens of *Edinburgh* on the night before had expressed their joy for the coming of their deliverer, by the most splendid illuminations, the ringing of bells, and other demonstrations of gladness; and altho' the day was immediately cold, yet multitudes went out to meet him.

No sooner had he arrived than he sent notice to the general officers to come to him by eight in the morning, and to bring with them such accounts as were requisite with regard to the situation of the forces; whose numbers by this time had been recruited by the arrival of the dragoons of *St. George*, and of General *Bland*, with the Duke of *Kingston's* horse

horse, and the foot regiments of Colonel *Campbell* and Lord *Semple*: a military chest, escorted by a party of St. *George's* dragoons, towards paying the army, came in; as did sixteen pieces of cannon from *Newcastle*, in order to replace the ten which had been lost at *Falkirk*; and with these came a sufficient quantity of stores, with 40 gunners and matrosses to work them. Every thing was put into the best posture imaginable; only some severities had been used by *Hawley*, which tended to discourage those under his command. Many of the private men were whipped in a terrible manner; the shrieks and cries of their wives and children were too piercing to be related. Four dragoons were hanged at one time, in the *Grass-market*, about noon, and continued on the gibbet for twenty-four hours: two were to suffer on the morning when his Highness arrived; but the sentence was respited, and they were received into their own corps.

At the time appointed the generals waited on him, with an account of what was past: and these threw no blame on each other. *Hawley's* conduct was approved; and yet it was judged, that he was more proper to obey than to command. Brave, bold *Huske* accused no body; he complained of nobody, and wanted only to crush the insurrection, and to restore the public tranquillity. While the general officers were in the room with his Highness, nobility and such lords of session as were in town went to congratulate him on his arrival. About one o'clock the ministers of the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, and such others of that profession as were in the place, went in a body to welcome him and lastly came the masters of the university, with
the

the honour to kiss his hand, and met with the most gracious reception.

This being over he walked down stairs, to view the sixteen pieces of cannon in the Close, and upon the spot where the Pretender's had stood before. As he came out of the gate, the drums ruffed, a loud and continued huzza ensued. He walked along the cannon, placed in two parallel lines, scarcely taking his eye from off them, and looking all the time majestic and serene. This being over he returned to the room, the same in which the Pretender had lodged before, sat down to dinner, with his officers, and then began to concert the operations of the army.—The result of the consultation was, that the troops should march next day, by four in the morning: the orders were secretly intimated; and never did more chearfulness appear among a body of men: for, repining at *Hawley's* severity, they looked upon his Royal Highness as their deliverer and friend. Some soldiers who had after the battle of *Fontenoy* been compelled to lift in Lord *John Drummond's* brigade, embraced the first opportunity of deserting, and gave the King's troops the best intelligence in their power: their services were ingratefully received by General *Hawley*, but now were properly acknowledged.

At the time appointed the troops were in readiness to march. About half an hour past four in the morning they set out in two columns, consisting of fourteen battalions of foot, the *Argyleshire* militia, and the dragoons of the Viscount *Cobham* and of Lord *Mark Ker*. General *Huske* led the van, and the artillery brought up the rear. About nine his Highness set out in a coach, that had been sent him by the Earl of *Hopton*, a nobleman so,

well affected to the Government and so well disposed, that he sent twelve guineas to every foot regiment, and twenty-five to the *Argyleshire* Highlanders. And here his Highness acted every way like a soldier: for, as the report of the guns in *Edinburgh Castle* could in a clear day be heard at *Stirling*, so he wanted that no intimation should be given to the enemy: and, as a further precaution, *Ligonier's* and *Hamilton's* dragoons were ordered to patrol along the roads leading westward. Coming up with the troops at about seven miles distance, his Highness put himself at the head of the *Royal Scots*, and, as he passed along the lines, earnestly expressed himself in these terms: "Gentlemen, there is a near prospect of a battle, and if there is any person here who is unwilling to engage, pray let them speak freely, and with pleasure they shall have my discharge: nor shall their quitting the service be ever thrown out as a reflection upon the country to which they belong." The whole answered with repeated shouts and acclamations; and the two soldiers pardoned that morning were the first to raise the huzza. That night eight battalions marched to *Linlithgow* with the Duke, and Sir *John Mordaunt* with six to *Borrocesfontaines*; the dragoons to the adjacent villages, and the *Argyleshire* men in front towards the *Avon*. Next day they were put in motion by four in the morning, and at the west end of the bridge were drawn up in order of battle, in which they marched toward *Falkirk*, and were joined in their way by the dragoons, the militia, and by Brigadier *Mordaunt's* division: about ten in the morning they entered *Falkirk*; but, saw no enemy.

By this march of the troops the siege of the castle

castle of *Stirling* was raised. It had not been very hard pressed, on account of the unsuitness of the enemy, and the resolution of General *Blakeney* to hold out to the last. He answered the summons of the Pretender in very pertinent terms: "That he was always looked upon as a man of honour, and that the Rebels should find he would die so." The cutting of all communication with the town did not dishearten the garrison, then consisting of 600 men. Two batteries, that had been erected under cover of some woolpacks, were dismounted by the fire of the garrison; and these suffered no inconvenience except in the breast-work of the rampart, a small part of which was beat down. *Stirling* was delivered before she was aware, and the Castle was relieved before she knew that the Duke of *Cumberland* was arrived. The enemy moved off their baggage on the 31st in the morning, with about twenty pieces of cannon, having spiked up some others; and endeavoured to set fire to a magazine of powder, which had been laid up in the church of *St. Ninian*, to prevent its falling into the hands of the troops: however the train missed, and the noble fabric of *St. Ninians* might have been standing, had it not been for seven stragglers, who lagged behind, went to the church in quest of prey, and in expectation of some household furniture that had been hidden there in great quantities: a private man called *Mackintosh* came to the window, and, at the desire of a *French* engineer, fired a pistol thro' it. The shock was sudden; the powder blazed; the plunderers, the incendiary, the seats and roof blew up in the air, and the stones flew about the church-yard, struck some of the towns people, while the whole were stunned at the ter-

rible convulsion. The report was heard for many miles round: the Duke's army rightly judging it to be an indication of a retreat, Brigadier *Morlaunt* was sent forward with the dragoons and the *Argyleshire* militia to harrafs them, but they were gone too far: and the enemy looked upon it as an attack upon one of their parties. They had already crossed the *Forth*, and now redoubled their flight toward *Crief*; where, holding a council of war, they separated into different bodies, and appointed *Inverness* to be the place of their rendezvous. Their scheme was to make the country as serviceable to them as possible; to collect the public money, and to take up provisions; and to favour the landings from *France*. The greater part, with the Pretender at their head, took the road of *Perth*, where they threw the swivels taken out of the Hazard sloop into the *Tay*, and nailed up thirteen pieces of brass cannon, of eight and twelve pounders. Here they subdivided, Lord *George Murray* taking the rout by *Dundee*, *Montrose*, *Aberdeen*, *Banff*, and *Elgin* of *Murray*, while the Chevalier and the principal clans advanced by the way of the *Blair of Athole*; where after staying five days they continued their march to *Ruthven of Badenoch*; the barracks of which they blew up: and finding a man, called *Riddell*, who was carrying letters to Lord *London*, which he had secreted between the soles of his shoes, the poor fellow was taken up and hanged. From this place they proceeded to *Angymore*, where the *Grants* of *Strath-Spey* entered into a neutrality with them, neither to fight for or against them. Hence they went to *Inverness*, where Major *George Grant*, the governor, gave them little trouble; for, contrary to the advice of Mr. *Thomson* the gunner,

ner, and of Lieutenant *Graham*, of *Guise's* regiment, he surrendered the fort, upon no other condition but that of saving his own baggage; while that of the officers and private men was permitted to the enemy. There were in about 100 of the name of *Grant*, many of whom listed with the enemy, or were permitted to depart by the interest of friends.

When all was over the Pretender came from *Castlehill* into the town, and had the pleasure of seeing the chief place and principal fort in the north in his hands. By this conquest he acquired 12 pieces of cannon, 16 barrels of powder and ball, besides other ammunition and military stores, 100 barrels of beef, and 500 bolls of oatmeal. A governor was directly appointed, however short-lived was his command; for the outworks and body of the place were soon blown up. A strange delusion indeed! to destroy a castle which gave lustre to the town, and on which the government had expended 50,000*l.* but thirteen years before.

On the very day when the fort surrendered, the van of the party which had taken the coast road came into the town, and the other divisions successively arrived, making the most of their march; for having met with two *Spanish* privateers at *Stonehive*, they took 100 chests of arms out of them, besides a large quantity of powder and ball, which *Roy Steuart* took particular care to transport safe to *Inverness*, which was from this time denominated the head quarters.

The rebel army being got together, detachments were sent every-where to secure provisions, and to keep the country in awe. Every shire and district was visited by such as seemed best acquainted there;
with;

with; the *Camerons* and *Macdonalds* of *Glengary* were sent to *Fort Augustus* and *Fort William*; the former fell into the hands of the enemy, with Major *Wentworth* the governor, and three companies of *Gulfe's* regiment, a ball having fallen into the powder magazine. The fort was turned into a place of confinement for the troops which they could not transport, and so continued till the 13th of April, when the whole barracks, on which the government had expended 30,000*l*, were blown up. The garrison of *Fort William* was more fortunate; and notwithstanding the town was burnt, yet Captain *Scott* the governor took such care of the fort, that he disputed every inch of ground with them, and obliged them to retire with the loss of their batteries, which consisted of the artillery taken from Sir *John Cope* at the battle of *Preston-pans*, and two large mortars. We cannot pass over this account of the prisoners, who fell into their hands, without taking notice of a fact, which does not a little illustrate the spirit of the party. Such of the soldiers of the garrisons of *Inverness* and *Fort Augustus*, as were confined in the former, were put into a church, and there stripped of their clothes in order to bestow them upon the recruits that were coming in. Fortunately for them one *Fleming*, the Marquis of *Tullbardin's* gentlemen, came by and saw their distress; the men complained of their hardships, and he was prevailed on to interceed in their behalf. Their clothes were soon ordered to be restored, which indeed they had better have wanted, for many of them listed with the *Adventurer*, and soon came to an untimely end; perhaps the party wanted to clothe the *Frazers* who now crowded in with impunity. Before this
time

time many of them refused, till *Macdonald* of *Barisdale*, and young *Frazer* of *Inveralachy*, carried the bloody cross among them, and threatened to burn them in their own houses, if they did not take up arms and rebel.

Lord *Cromartie* was sent into *Ross-shire*, as the bulk of his estate lay there; and *Macdonald* of *Barisdale* was dispatched after the Earl of *London*, and the militia under his command. Happily for his Lordship the fire from the garrison prevented their crossing the bridge after him; they were obliged to ford the *Ness* a considerable way nearer the mouth of the harbour, and all the time the royalists were gaining ground, and had passed the ferry of *Kessoch* before their pursuers could arrive at the shore thereof. This obliged *Barisdale* to march about five miles higher up, to cross *Beu-lie*, and from thence to follow his pursuit. The next day he came in view of them about three in the afternoon, and certainly would have committed a most dreadful havoc, had it not been for the *Vulture* sloop of war, whose head just appeared within the *Sutors* of *Cromartie* as *Barisdale* and his corps were seen upon the brow of the hill: the loyal militia huzzaed, and made every other signal for the *Vulture* to come near, but they had no boats to send off to her; the signals were known, the sloop came as near as possible, and fired three cannon toward the hill; three of the corps fell by the shot, several were wounded, and the remainder returned the way they came. In the mean time the loyalists were transported into *Ross-shire* on board the *Vulture's* boats, and other small craft as they could find on the opposite shore. They proceeded in their rout to *Sutherland*, where they encamped

at

at *Dornoch*, the only town in the county. In this manner they acted in the shires more immediately in their power, and continued to send out parties every-where, even within a day's march of the grand army, where no preparations were neglected to bring matters to a final conclusion.

For no sooner had his royal Highness got rid of the compliments of the city of *Glasgow*, and the deputies from the adjacent villages and towns, than he set out from *Falkirk* to *Stirling*, which he entered amidst the loudest acclamations and huzzas, that were answered by three rounds from the cannon of the fort. It was indeed no wonder, for the common people of that part of the kingdom are in a particular manner devoted to Presbyterian church government, which the Pretender would never ratify; and to heighten their satisfaction, the Duke was attended by a number of prisoners, who at the late battle had fallen into the hands of the enemy. He only staid here till the 4th, when the arch of the bridge, that had been blown up by General *Blakeney* for retarding the progress of the enemy, had been repaired. That day the army marched and proceeded to *Crief*, where they arrived next morning, while one party turned to castle *Drummond*, seized the Dutchess of *Perth*, and another turned to *Srathallan*, and took the Viscountess, both of whom were escorted to the castle of *Edinburgh*, where on the 11th they were closely confined, there being the strongest suspicion that the former had prevailed on her son, and the other on her husband to join the Chevalier. Next day the troops advanced to *Perth*, where magazines of provisions were laid in. Here the noblemen and gentlemen of the adjacent counties waited on him,

as did the ministers and the deputations from the towns. He received them all in a very princely and becoming manner, and then returned to business, from which no visits could divert him. Detachments were instantly sent out to secure the passes; Sir *Andrew Agnew* was dispatched to *Dunfries* with 500 of the infantry and 120 of the *Argyleshire* militia; Lieutenant-Colonel *Leighton* was sent with a party of 500 men to castle *Mennies*, in order to prevent the excursions of the enemy. Here he continued till the 18th, when he set out for *Edinburgh*, attended only by Lord *Guthrie* and some few servants, in order to confer with his brother-in-law the prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, who had lately arrived from *Holland* with a body of 3000 men. These troops had been hired from *Frederic King of Sweden*, in consequence of an agreement concluded at *London* with the *Hessian* envoy. His *Swedish* Majesty was to receive the annual subsidy of 150,000 crowns while the treaty existed, and 250,000, if they should be dismissed before the determination of it; they were to receive the same pay as the national *British* troops, were only to be employed in *Great-Britain*, or in support of her allies in the *Low Countries*; the charge of their transportation both coming and going should be defrayed; eighty crowns were to be paid for every horseman that should be wanting, and thirty for every foot soldier. In consequence of this agreement they repaired to *Williamstadt*, where on the 5th they embarked on board sixty-six transports, and under convoy of four men of war arrived at *Leith* about five o'clock at night of the 8th.

A very proper and timely supply, especially as the *Dutch* troops had been recalled, in order, as was given out, to prevent the incroachments of *France* upon their barrier; nay so very pressing were the *States General*, that even while the Pretender was in *England* they not only made a requisition of the auxiliaries which they had sent over, but also of a body of the *British* troops to protect them. His Highness of *Hesse* received the same honours as his brother-in-law and his corps was cantoned in the best and most commodious manner; they were really very fine troops, cloathed in blue, with white livery, whose shape was varied for distinction sake; their hussars, about 500, looked extremely well, wore scimitars of a great length which hung by a cord hung round their bodies; their horses were long-tailed, of a strong make, and generally black, of a much less size than those of the *British* army, but more durable and fit for use; they were mostly *Swedish*, or of that brood, which is reckoned the most serviceable in the northern nations.

The royal brothers having met and consulted together, the result of their conference was, that the *British* army was to march to *Aberdeen*, and the *Hessians* to *Perth*, and from thence to *Blair*, of *Athole*, in order to stop the return of the enemy, and to hem them in upon every quarter. The plan was followed and the *Hessians*, with the Earl of *Crauford* at their head, advanced to *Blair* with only two men killed, and one wounded by some random shot that had been directed against them from behind bushes and some copes of wood.

His Royal Highness being returned to *Perth* he on the 20th put the troops in motion in four divisions; two of them took the road of *Cowpar* of *Angus*, whither two battalions of foot and 259 horse had marched six days before; another directed their march to *Dundee*, the artillery followed, and by the way of *Forfar* and *Brechin* arrived on the 22d at *Montrose* with the main body of the army. Here the magistrates behaved in a very handsome manner; they in a body complimented his Highness, and very hospitably entertained the troops; the officers were regaled in the best houses of the town, while every soldier had either rum or brandy, and a biscuit for their refreshment.

At this place a court-martial sat for the trial of some officers, one of whom was broke for rising the house of Mr. *Oliphant* of *Gask*, notwithstanding that gentleman was in the rebellion. On the 24th his Highness emitted a proclamation for such as had returned with their arms, or such as had any of their effects to bring them in, those who had been assisting to them, and lurking about the country, to give in their names and places of abode to the next magistrate or minister of the church of *Scotland*, and entirely to submit to the King's mercy.

This voluntary condescension had not the effect that could be wished, merely owing to the same causes that had defeated the intent of *M. Wade's* declaration from *Newcastle*; and what was still a further hinderance, the few inhabitants in that county, who had taken up arms, had either been killed in skirmishes, seized at *Carlisle*, or were in the camp at *Inverness*, where the private men were

kept in ignorance of what was doing, and the officers were both affraid and ashamed.

On the 26th his Highness set out for *Aberdeen*, where on the 28th he arrived with the troops; the magistrates went out to meet him, and ushered him into the city, which he entered amidst repeated and accumulated huzzas; the masters of both colleges stood before the gate welcoming him in, and next day waited on him, as did the clergy, who were all most graciously received; the principal nobleman and gentlemen came to pay him their compliments; the Duke of *Gordon*, the Earls of *Aberdeen*, *Kintore*, and *Finlater*, with the Lords *Braco*, *Forbes*, and *Stirchen*; and at last the Laird of *Grant*, with 100 of his name. This step was looked upon by the rebels as a breach of the neutrality; Lord *Nairn* was sent into *Strathspey* with the regiment of his name to remonstrate against it, when he was told that an handsome retinue attending their chieftain was no substantial infringement of the bargain; *Nairn* admitted the apology, and being not only regaled with his party, but supplied with a considerable quantity of provision for the camp, he retired with all possible satisfaction.

While at *Aberdeen* his Highness acted in so princely and amiable a manner, that friends and enemies were obliged to confess the superiority of his genius, and the most distinguishing abilities. He daily rose at four, reviewed his troops, appeared at entertainments, walked the streets with his officers, and established hospitals for the sick; he likewise sent out parties to scour the country. one of which consisting of 200 foot and 80 horse, marched up the *Don* to *Braemar* to seize upon the rebel

rebel magazines, and to recover the booty of the southern counties, which lay concealed there. The clergy were very assisting in this expedition, as they conducted the detachment to the shallows and fords of the river, and directed them to the hidden caverns, where the magazines and valuable effects had been secreted. During this search none but actual rebels were molested, nor were any goods seized, except such as had been forcibly taken away; for when some soldiers went to a gentleman's house and robbed it, the officer was tried and broke by a court-martial; another was served in the same manner for taking six guineas from a merchant of *Aberdeen*, as a reward to preserve his shop from being rifled. In a word, nothing was wanting to animate the troops, and to protect the country on the part of his Royal Highness.

Of the different parties sent out from the camp, none met with the least disaster, except a small detachment belonging to the Earl of *Albemarle*.

That nobleman had been sent to a place called *Strathbogie*, the ancient seat of the family of *Gordon*, and with him General *Bland*, having under his command the regiments of *Barrel*, *Price*, *Chalmondely*, and the *Scots Royal*, *Cobham's* dragoons, *Kingston's* horse, and 60 men of the *Glen* battalion. Just about this time *Roy Stewart* and Major *Glascoe* had come down with an intent to penetrate as far as possible. His Royal Highness had an account of their design before his Lordship had got half-way to the place appointed; on which he sent Colonel *Conway*, one of his aid de camps, to *Inverurie*, with orders to General *Bland* to march forward to attack them. *Bland* was in motion in a moment.

a moment, he joined the foot regiments in their way from *Old Meldrum*, and both marched with such alacrity, that they were within half a mile of the enemy before they were discerned. The rebels then waiting dinner, fled off immediately; only some of their hussars drew up upon the green, and made a shew of standing upon the defensive; but this was only to favour the retreat of the foot. They withdrew with great dexterity to a place called *Westerton*, at a mile's distance and there halted until a party of the *Argyleshire* militia appeared in their front, and a squadron of *Kingston's* horse were observed to ford the *Devron* below them. This determined them to file off. The Royalists pursued to the top of the hill of *Cairnie*, but there stopped; only the Marquis of *Granby*, Colonel *Conway*, and other volunteers advanced a few yards further, and fired some pistols, but the fire was not returned; for *Roy Stuart's* intention was to decoy them into the middle of a party, who had been there laid in ambush, but he was disappointed.

A few days after *Roy Stuart* contrived another scheme for seizing upon 30 of *Kingston's* horse, and 50 *Argyleshire* Highlanders, at a place called *Keith*, within six miles of the *Spey*. These had marched to the hill above *Castle Gordon*, but retired for fear of being overpowered. The enemy taking them for an out-guard of a much greater body, set out after them about ten at night, and arrived by one in the morning. The avenues to that town were stopt; Major *Glascoe* came up to the sentry, who said "Who's there;" "A friend," replied the other, "of the Duke of *Cumberland*,"

and

and directly seized him. The man was disarmed, and a pistol held to his breast, threatening immediate death if he cried; two others were served in the same manner: fortunately one of the centinels fired and gave the alarm; all was confusion at once; *Kingston's* horse were all taken, except five, with two men and a cornet; a party of the Highlanders were seized in their beds, except twelve men, who retired into the church-yard, and fired from it: however, these were soon overpowered, and driven into the church, out of which they fired, and received the fire of the enemy through the windows; seven of the party were killed, and five wounded. In short only one escaped to the Earl of *Albemarle*, who dispatched an express to *Aberdeen*; the Duke sent him two battalions, and ordered out Brigadier *Mordaunt* with three others, and four pieces of cannon, to *Old Meldrum*, to be near to support his Lordship.

This successful attempt upon *Keith* was the very foundation of their not pursuing a design still more ample and extensive; for *Roy Stuart* had laid a plan for surprizing the Earl of *Albemarle* in his head quarters: fortunately for his Lordship one *Macarty*, a schoolmaster at *Glasgow*, got intelligence of it, and communicated the same to the camp. The troops were kept in readiness, and under arms, so that the enemy did not come forward; however, by watching and impatience the men became weary and fatigued; they had watched for three days and three nights together, and about twilight of the third day the man again brought information that the enemy was drawing near. His Lordship of *Albemarle* did not believe him,
and

and therefore speaking to him in a manner different from his usual politeness, he ordered him to be sent to *Aberdeen*, where he received five hundred lashes for wilfully giving false intelligence; he was likewise disciplined at *Old Meldrum* and *Strathbogie*, and then dismissed with orders to tell the rebels, that the King's troops were prepared for them. *Hawley* was the occasion of this severity: "For," said he, "his design is to ruin the army through want of sleep, and then to bring the enemy upon them." This indeed was the design of *Roy Stuart*, but not of the poor man. Notwithstanding his hardship, *Macary* gave no hurtful intelligence to the enemy: and yet these heard of the punishments he had undergone, and of the message sent by him. Overawed with the alertness of the King's troops they kept near the *Spey*, at the distance of twelve long miles from *Albemarle's* quarters, from whence, as from them, there were sent out patrolling parties, to get the best information possible of each other's progress.

Though these incidents might have diverted the enemy, yet it could not effectually have prevailed on them to lay aside the design of surprizing the troops in the night-time. Secretary *John Murray*, who about this time fell sick of a cold, was the person who altered the method of their proceeding, and advised to fortify the banks of the *Spey*, and to wait the Duke's army at this place.

The river of *Spey* is one of the most rapid in Europe; by experiment it is found to run at the rate of fourteen miles in an hour, and for the space of thirty miles, meandering through a fertile country; it empties itself into the sea, a little below *Carmouth*, a small village famous for being the landing

landing place of King *Charles II.* anno 1650. No river in *Britain* is so swelled by the rains and the snows. The hidden caverns in *Galloway* don't fill the *Tweed*, the heights of *Bradlebane* do not send such a supply from their melted snows into the *Forth*, lake *Tay* and its adjacent eminences do not so fully replenish the river of its name, the *Dee* does nor receive such a quantity of water from *Baremar*, not the *Don* from the hills of *Innerecauel*, as the *Spey* does from the mountains of *Badenoch* and the impetuous stream that runs into it; and its narrowness, being about forty yards over at a medium, contributes to the velocity of its flow. For fifteen miles it rolls with great force, and only in three places are fords to be found. *Cromdale* is the highest; the ford of *Achainanie* is about eight miles lower down, and hither *Roy Steuart* was sent with 700 men draughted from different corps, and two pieces of cannon. Nine miles lower was the ford of *Bellie*, over against *Gordon* castle, and near the mouth of the river. Lord *John Drummond* had the direction of the batteries to be fixed there. These were ordered to be placed upon two eminences, so as to flank each other within the reach of cannon shot. The rapidity of the river and steepness of its banks gave them the greatest encouragement; but in this they deceived themselves, as in other things: for Lord *John* was no engineer, and the batteries, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Secretary, were neglected. The Pretender was at a distance, busied about other things: he was receiving recruits in great numbers from among the different branches of the *Catti*, and from the western parts of *Rossshire*, as also several supplies from abroad: at times he affected to be gay, paid

visits through the country, and once declared his curiosity to see a salmon caught with a rod upon the water of *Beuly*. His parties were not come in from the excursions on which they had gone out. A battalion of the *Athele* men had been sent to *Gusbiiville* and *Cainachan*: these surprized a small party of the *Argyleshire* militia; but could make no impressions upon the quarters of the *Hessians* or of the Earl of *Crawford*. Another party had gone to *Sutherland*, where the very advantage which they obtained turned out to the detriment and loss of their cause.

Every person has heard of the notable scheme contrived and executed by *Perth* in person, for surprizing the *Sutherland* militia, and dispersing the corps under the Earl of *Loudon*'s command. For this purpose he got together about forty large boats, on board of which he put a body of 1500 men, draughted from the different divisions of their grand army. By means of a thick fog he, on the 29th of March, set off from *Burghhead*, and crossing the *Firth*, landed with the greater part below *Dornoch*, and sent about 200 men to surprize the out-guard at the *Kittle*, three miles to the westward: the bulk of the militia were seized in a moment; only some few escaped to be messengers of their own disaster: and the Earl of *Loudon*, being at the pass of the *Bonar*, to observe *Barisdale*, who was on the opposite side of the water, could give them no assistance. *Sutherland* fell into their hands, and a communication with the plentiful county of *Caithness* was now opened: the detachment sent to the *Kittle* came to *Dornoch*, and spread desolation as they had done in *Rossshire* before.

fore. All were treated alike, provided they were for the Government. The clergy were visited without distinction. Those of *Eastern Ross* were at that time, for the most part, truly amiable men: those of *Sutherland* were not inferior in point of candour and other christian virtues: however no distinction was made; the amiable and endearing Mr. *Kirk*, minister of *Dornoch*, was treated more cruelly than *Daniel Monroe*, minister of *Tain*, though this last was an uncouth man, a monster of impiety, wickedness, and ill-nature: the former had lodged the Earl of *Loudon*, and this was all his crime: they violently thrust him down his own stairs, so that the innocent honest man was much bruised; and yet not one impatient word dropt from him.

However vengeance pursued them; for, on leaving him and recollecting the generous openness of his comely and venerable countenance with the silver colour of his grey hairs, they quarrelled with each other, and from words came to blows, by which many of them were maimed: and indeed it is no wonder that their consciences, however callous and obdurate, should upbraid them in an insult upon a gentleman by birth, more so by his education and prudence, and a favourite of Heaven, for his amiable and endearing deportment: a *Nathaniel* indeed in whom there was no guile: a truly good man; whom from the frequent accounts given by the best of preceptors, added to my own experience, I knew to be almost the best and most valuable of mankind; whether we consider him as a gentleman, a minister, a parent, an husband, or a friend.

While the enemy is spreading over *Sutherland*, and Lord *Cromartie*'s son was riding into *Gaithness*, where his success in raising men was nothing, but where he took up a considerable quantity of meal for the Pretender's use, the Earl of *Loudon* retired to *Strathnaver*, where he had an immediate opportunity of doing a more substantial service to the government, than if he had continued undisturbed in his camp.

For on the 26th, the *Prince Charles* snow had run ashore, on the shallows near *Tonge Bay*, after an engagement of five hours with the *Sheerness* men of war. Her men and money were landed that night, and next morning they set out: however they had not gone far when eighty-six of Lord *Loudon*'s militia and about an hundred of *Reay*'s men fired upon them from some eminences; six of the enemy were killed upon the spot, and as many wounded: the remainder became disheartened, and surrendered with the money and the arms they were carrying with them. They were conducted on board the *Sheerness*, whose captain took possession of the prize, in which were found fourteen chests of pistols and sabres, thirteen barrels of powder, besides ammunition and military stores, with 12,500 guineas in cash: all which, except the cash, were conducted to *Stromness* in *Orkney*, whither the captain sailed on the information received from the prisoners who were about one hundred and twenty, including soldiers and sailors, with twenty officers. At *Stromness* twelve ships were relieved, and a privateer of fourteen guns, that had laid an embargo upon them, was taken.

As the Pretender's party was now in possession of the country, a visit was expected by Lord *Reay*, who

who embarked with his treasure and the prisoners: and, arriving at *Aberdeen* on the 6th of April, he gave such an account to his Royal Highness, as intirely determined him to decamp, in order to give battle to the enemy before they should be joined by the embarkations carrying on at *Dunkirk*, as he learnt from the prisoners, or by others who might be dazzled by the glittering appearance of his good fortune.

Every thing being got in readiness, the army marched on the eight of April, and, by the way of *Old Meldrum* and *Bamff*, arrived at *Cullen* upon the 11th, where he was joined by the Earl of *Albemarle*'s battalions, and next day proceeded to the *Spey*. His Highness with General *Huske* led the van, which consisted of fourteen companies of grenadiers, the *Argyleshire* militia, and all the horse, with two pieces of cannon, which were immediately planted upon a ground that commanded the ford over which the army was to cross. As Lord *John Drummond* had not expected his Royal Highness at the time, so the batteries were not finished, and such as were there, fled of with precipitation on seeing *Kingston*'s horse enter the water, and galloped off to *Elgin* with the news.

The van being come to the river, his Highness was the first to enter the water at the head of the horse, who forded it a little above *Garmouth*, while the grenadiers and highlanders passed somewhat higher up: the infantry passed over as soon as they arrived. And though the water was very cold and up to their middles, yet they went on with great chearfulness. Thus the whole got over, with no other loss but that of one dragoon and four women, who were carried down by the stream.

The

The troops were cantoned that night on the banks of the *Spey*, and next day proceeded to *Ea gin*, the party who had deserted the *Spey* keeping at a proper distance before them. It was Sunday, and the people were just coming out of church: they crowded about the Duke with uncommon alacrity and gladness, pouring out their blessings upon him, and even reckoned themselves happy if they could but kiss his boot: he held out his hands to them in the most condescending and gracious manner, and with great affability asked some women, as they thronged upon him, "Will you give me a share of your brose?" He was invited to step into the town, and to take a little refreshment; but he excused himself in the most princely manner, by telling them that he was a soldier and upon his march. So truly amiable was his deportment, and so winning his behaviour, that the people could not but admire him. At a mile's distance the army halted and dined, the Duke's stable being the head of a drum; from thence they marched to *Alves*, and next day set out for *Nairn*. The Duke on his way gave a singular instance of his humanity and real goodness of heart. About half a mile from *Forrefts* is the water of *Findhorn*, over which the troops were to pass; in the middle thereof one of the carriage horses dropt down, and the waggon stuck fast in the bed of the stream. *Hawley* came up immediately, and fell to lashing the waggoner; the cracks of the whip sounded in the ears of his Royal Highness; he turned about, clapped spurs to his horse, rode into the water, and checked *Hawley* for his impatience: "Fye upon it, *Hawley*, to use any person so, the man is my friend, and do you

not

“not see that he is assisting us;” so turning to the man he directed him to loose the harness, and to free the horse from his incumbrance: his orders were obeyed, and so without further trouble all was set right as before. *Hawley* became every day more hated, and his Highness increased in favour with the army, who looked upon him as their father, their deliverer, their ornament, and friend; that night they came to *Nairn*, within twelve miles of the enemy; *Perth* continued at the end of the bridge till *Kingston*’s horse came within an hundred yards of him, and then galloped off at a full stretch, never halting till he was at *Inverness*, where the Pretender had but only the night before heard of the Duke having passed the *Spey*.

Next day being the anniversary of his Highness’ birth, the troops rested; but by a particular order, they were not allowed to observe it otherwise, than that every private man had half a pint of rum and a biscuit given him. These were supplied from the transports which kept pace with them: however, in every other place, except where the Pretender prevailed, it was kept as a jubilee; in some towns the Pretender was hanged in effigy, which, with a skirmish that happened at *Golspie* in *Sutherland*, was an omen of the stunning blow, which next day he received.

The Earl of *Cromartie* and his son, with some officers, being at *Dunrobin* on a visit to the Countess of *Sutherland*, who was in a different interest from her husband, had the curiosity to see one *Dr. Vanboven* perform some feats of activity: while his corps was marching to the *Little Ferry*, he was taken up with his diversion; the servants of the family apprized a party of the *Sutherland* militia

militia, who were at a small distance from them: Poor *Cromartie* had in *Lochbroom* issued forth the most horrid and execrable orders, such as to hang men at their own doors, and burn their houses, if they did not join the Pretender's standard; and in this place several very cruel things were done inconsistent with humanity. The *Macgregors* and *Barrisdale's* corps were in the country, and there was little provision to be found; *Cyderhall*, the most elegant house in the shire, was burnt, and in it a granary of meal; the house of *Kintredwell* was also set on flames, as was another at *Kilgour*; incidents that could not fail to provoke.

During the time of his Lordship's diversion, the militia got together, and contrived to surprize him, *Barrisdale* was on the other side of the ferry: he had none with him but the poor men whom he had forced from their own houses, and who were poor inoffensive innocents. These marched in a body, and were near two miles from *Dunrobin* when his Lordship set out. As he came to the brook of *Golspie*, a party of twenty-six men fired upon them from a church-yard; their horses startled, and directly returned; the party pursued them, but on coming to *Dunrobin* they found only shut doors; on which one *Mackay* desired access, and being told that every person who appeared in view was to be fired upon: "What!" says *Mackay*, "fire upon one man;" a phrase which he so frequently uttered, that the gate was opened, and he was let in. Accordingly he was carried up stairs to *Cromartie*, and insisted on his surrendering; so going down again, he told the sentry that his master had surrendered himself; and that it was needless to stand out any longer: he delivered up his arms and

and the keys, and some of his party coming up on a signal given, they were put in possession of every thing. In the mean time those who had marched forward were attacked and broken; they fled to the ferry, where they were made prisoners; *Cromartie*, with his son, Lieutenant-colonel *Kendal* in the *Spanish* service, and nine other officers, were conducted in their boats to an island in *Brora Water*, and from thence were carried on board the *Hound* sloop of war, which on an express concerning the event, had loosed from *Cromartie*, in order to take them in. All this time *Barisdale* was marching toward the *Bonar*, in order to join the Chevalier, who now prepared for a stand.

From the flight of his men having intelligence of the Duke's approach, he called in his out-parties, and drew them up in the street of *Inverness* on the 14th, and then marched at their head to the parks of *Castle-hill* and *Culloden*, where they encamped that night, and next day drew up in order of battle upon *Drumossie Muir*, with their batteries placed to the right and left of them, and one of four pieces in the centre; they were in high spirits, all hearty and well. Towards nine at night they discovered some uneasiness, to remove which the Pretender proposed, in a council of war, to march forward, and surprise the Duke's camp in the night-time. Accordingly they set out about ten, in two columns; that on the right was conducted by himself, and that on the left by *Perth*; they marched in the most silent manner, orders being given for no man to speak above his breath. By three in the morning the right column was within two miles of the Royalists, and could hear the sentries call and answer to one another, "Is

“ all well ? ” “ Yes all is well. ” Here they halted upon a large heath for the second column for half an hour, but the troops thereof had mistaken their way; so that by the time they came in sight, the morning dawn began to appear, and one of *Kingston's* horsemen was observed by an out-party to gallop full speed toward the camp; by which it was concluded that their arrival would soon be known. A dejection of spirit was now legible in their faces; and the Pretender was heard to say, “ D——n it! Are my orders still disobeyed ? ” They returned and came up to their former ground about eight, and rested upon their arms, to ease them from the fatigue they had gone through.

There is not a part in this whole expedition in which the truth is so hard to come at, as whether the Pretender did well or ill not to attack the royalists in their camp. The fact is represented literally as it was; and from this we may safely conclude, that if the Pretender, who depended so much upon stratagem and surprize, came really in quest of a coffin or a crown, it was not like a soldier to proceed without a full resolution to engage before returning. The corn-fields about *Nairn* were not more advantageous to the royal army than the common whereon the action happened. The troops were not entrenched, and the dawn of the morning is known to be the fittest for startling horses. *Charles XII. of Sweden*, to whom his friends have so frequently compared him, would not have marched back without trying the fortune of war; nor yet would the Duke of *Cumberland*, notwithstanding all the precautions that had been taken.

For

For his Highness on the night before rode round the camp, and surveyed all the avenues leading thereto; the men were drawn up in order of battle, with the cannon in the front, and the horse in the rear; three regiments were drawn up about his own quarters, which were in the house of Mr. *Rose of Kilravock*, a gentleman of great humanity and good nature, and a sincere friend to the Government. Parties were appointed to patrol for three miles round, I mean from the water of *Nairn* to the *Firth*; by the first of which his Highness was secured on the left, and by the latter his rear was protected: as I know the ground, so I can speak the better upon it. Several gentlemen have declared, that if the enemy had attacked, they would rather have been in a worse situation than at *Culloden*. Be that as it will, certainly every possible method was taken to prevent a surprise, and his Highness not only visited the parts, but spoke to the officers to encourage the private men; he rode along the lines with a chearful countenance, and said: "My brave boys, we have but one march more, and all our labour is at an end; sit down at your tent-doors, and be alert to take your arms." He was answered with the strongest protestations of loyalty, and retired to his lodging, where he supped with his general officers, and appeared exceeding chearful during the whole time. Several of the clergy crowded into the room, some to give intelligence, and others out of curiosity; but he desired them to go home, and assist the troops with their prayers. This being over, he composed himself to rest, but without taking off either his boots or his clothes, till about three in the morning, when getting up on his feet, he di-

rectly walked down stairs, and coming to the front was agreeably surpris'd to find the whole in battalia and under arms, which had been done in about two minutes after the first alarm from one of the patrolling parties. Without hesitating a moment, he ordered every soldier a glass of brandy, a biscuit, and a little cheese, and so the army set out in four columns in pursuit of the enemy. The three lines of foot, each of five battalions, were broke into three from the right; the artillery followed the first, and the cavalry made the fourth upon the left; and though a storm of hail drove full in their faces, yet still they advanced. They had march'd about eight miles before the enemy was perceived; forty of *Kingston's* horse and the Highlanders, led by the Quarter-master-general, had the first view of them at two miles distance, making a motion to the left of the army, who instantly turned their faces from the West in order to front them. In this position they continued some minutes, till observing those whom they had espied to retire to their main body, they put themselves in their former posture, which they kept till within a mile of the enemy, where again they formed as before.

It was not till eleven o'clock when the two armies got a full view of each other, that the rebel chiefs entered seriously into a council. Lord *George Murray*, *Lochiel*, *Roy Steuart*, and almost all the chieftains were against fighting that day; however *Boyer*, the *French* ambassador, and the officers of the brigades insisted upon it. *Stapleton* even went so far as to say, that "the *Scots* were always good troops till they came to a crisis." An expression which fired them so much that *Lochiel* has declared

clared oftner than once, " that he did not believe
" there was an Highlander in the army who would
" not have run up to the mouth of a cannon, in
" order to confute the odious and undeserved af-
" perſion." And in this temper of mind where
they when the Duke was within a mile of them,
Their cannon were fired, to let ſuch as had fallen
aſleep know that the King's army was advancing :
they were awakened by the noiſe; the Pretender
galloped from the houſe of *Cullodan*, as did the
M. of *Tullibardin*, and the parties run in to their
reſpective battalions.

Both armies were now ranged in order of battle :
the Royaliſts (about 8500 men) extending from
right to left were drawn up in two lines. The firſt
was compoſed of the regiments of the *Royal Scots*,
Cholmondley, *Price*, *Royal North Britiſh Fuſiliers*,
Monro, and *Barrel*; the ſecond was made up of
the regiments of *Batterau*, *Blakeney*, *Howard* (ali-
as the *Bufs*) *Fleming*, *Blyth*, *Semple*, *Ligonier*, and
Wolf. There was a corps of reſerve, from whence
the Duke ordered *Pulteney's* to the right of the
Royal, the better to cover the enemy, who before
this much outlined the troops; there was a morafs
on the right, which ſecured them from a ſurpriſe
on that ſide, and the dragoons under Generals
Hawley and *Bland* were, with 150 of the High-
landers, ordered to the left, in order to fall upon
the right flank of the enemy; the other part of
that corps being left to guard the baggage behind
the whole,

The rebel army, conſiſting of 9000 men, ſtood
formed in three lines; the firſt was compoſed of
the *Athole* battalions headed by their reſpective
Colonels; that of the Marquis of *Tullibardin*,
Lord

Lord Nairn, Colonel Menzies, *Robertson of Blair-fitty*, and *Steuart of Kainachan*; next them stood the *Camerons*, *Mackintoshes*, and *Macdonalds*: Lord *George Murray* commanded on the right, and Lord *John Drummond* on the left. Their second line was made up of the *Irish* brigades, and seventy of *Fitzjames'* horse, Lord *Lewis Gordon's* regiment, with those of *Perth*, *Roy Stuart*, *Glenbucket*, *Kilmarnock*, Lord *John Drummond*, and Lord *Ogilvie*. The Pretender stood with a body of horse behind the whole, almost opposite to the centre, but without reach of musket shot. Their lines were distant from each other about five hundred yards, whereas those of the King's troops were not above fifty; the enemy's cannon was placed in three divisions, consisting each of three pieces; that of the Duke, consisting of ten pieces, was planted in five divisions, two being in each. Things being in this condition, his Royal Highness ordered them to advance, and riding along the lines in a very soldierly and comely manner, he called out to them: "My brave boys, your toil will soon be at an end; stand your ground against the broad sword and target; parry the enemy in the manner that you have been directed, be assured of immediate assistance, and I promise you that I shall not fail to make a report of your behaviour to the King; and in the mean time, if any are unwilling to engage, pray let them speak freely, and with pleasure they shall have their discharge." These words were uttered with such earnestness, and in so lively a manner, that one would have thought he had already conquered. The whole soldiers gave repeated declarations of their standing by him, and so they advanced.

The

The battle would have begun directly, but one *Robert Frazer*, the same who had been secretary to Lord *Levat*, by insinuating himself with the corps of the artillery, led them a wrong way; he conducted them up an hill, and over a marshy ground, in which a wheel of one of the carriages was broken. His Highness, whose eyes were every where, ordered a workman to right it, and some more horses to be yoked in order to draw it through, and a tenant of *Kilravock's* stepping up, conducted them in the best and plainest road. The army was now within five hundred yards of the enemy, when the morass ended which covered their right, to remedy which, *Kingston's* horse and sixty of *Cobham's* dragoons were ordered to supply that deficiency. The day was rainy, and the wind began to rise from the north, and the army endeavoured to keep it on their back, while Lord *Bury*, now Earl of *Albemarle*, was sent forward with some few troops to reconnoitre what appeared somewhat like a battery. His Lordship went on, and their cannon began to play against him; but being ill served and ill pointed, the balls flew over the heads of the whole, except the last rank, where a cannon bullet took a man full below the abdomen, and shot his body off almost by the illion. The artillery of the King's army was better served, Major *Belford* attended it there in person, and took care to level the guns so well, that they made lanes wherever they came. The Highlanders did not like the salutation; they came down three times within an hundred yards of the right wing, brandishing their swords, and firing their pistols. The troops kneeled to receive the fire, as they were directed, the first rank bending on their knee, the
second

second stooping, and the third standing upright; the two last were to fire, but not till the enemy was within thirty yards, and the first was to receive them with their fire, and on the point of their bayonets. Lord *John Drummond* did all in his power to decoy the royalists to give their fire at a distance, that his wing might come in sword in hand; he even walked between the lines with his pike in his hand. The Duke of *Cumberland* saw into the extent of his design, and was not to be provoked into an un-soldier-like action; in short, the two continued to front each other in this alarming posture, and in the mean while the right wing of the enemy and the left of the King's were closely engaged; for in a stooping posture, covering their head and breasts with their targets, the *Athole* battalions, the regiment of *Mackintoshes* and the *Cameron's*, ran swiftly upon the cannon, making a dreadful huzza, and even crying out, "Run ye dogs:" they broke in between the grenadiers of *Barrel* and *Monro*; but these had given their fire according to the general direction, and then parried them with their screwed bayonets: the two cannons on that division were so well served, that when within two yards of these they received a full discharge of cartridge shot, which made a dreadful havock; and those who crowded into the opening received a full fire from the centre of *Bligh's* regiment, which still encreased the number of the slain: however such as survived possessed themselves of the cannon, and attacked the regiments sword in hand; but to their astonishment they found an obstinate resistance. His Highness being on the right, saw them the moment they moved to break in, and ordered the regiments of *Wolfe* and *Fleming*

to wheel to the left of *Barrel's*, and attack them in flank, while those of *Bligh* and *Semple*, brought up by *General Hulse*, poured in their shot upon the front of them. The enemy could not stand such uncommon efforts, planned in the most judicious manner, and executed with all the intrepidity imaginable. The Pretender saw the *Athole* battalions advance, and sent one of his aids de camp, *Colonel Maclauchlan* of *Inchconnell*, with orders to the left wing to wheel to the right, and support the impression that might be made, while the second line was to move forward to supply their room. The orders were not delivered, for *Maclauchlan's* head was struck off by a cannon ball as he was galloping with them; so that the left retained its former posture. The Duke saw it, and observing through a glass what was doing on the left, he cried out, "They run, They run! rise up *Pulter-ney's* and shoulder." His words were heard by *Lord John Drummond*, and such as were near him; they looked about and saw the catastrophe: all at once they threw down their firelocks, and began to give way; on which the right wing advanced some paces, and gave their fire in so close and so full a manner, that the ground was soon covered with the bodies of the dead and wounded, and the cannon being again loaded, these fired into the midst of the fugitives, and made a frightful carnage. In the mean time the dragoons and *Argyleshire* Highlanders, under the Generals *Hawley* and *Bland*, began to break down a dyke to the right of the enemy, who were now flying off in the greatest confusion; and as at their coming on they received a salvo from two pieces of cannon, so at their going off they had a like salutation from

other two that were brought up to bear upon them. The dragoons rode in among the fugitives, and hacked them terribly with their broad swords; some had their brains beat out by the horses, so that only a few of that wing escaped to the other side of the *Nairn*, where it was not practicable to pursue them. There was business for the dragoons and *Kingston's* horse on another quarter; they had already met together in the very centre of the ground where the rebels had stood, and from thence they separated into small parties in pursuit of the unhappy people now flying for their lives. Many of these advanced five miles into the country before they returned; such as took the road to *Inverness* were more fortunate than those who fled between that water and the *Narn*, and yet many of these were killed and wounded: in a word, the rout was total, the victory complete. About fifteen hundred were killed upon the spot, and as many in the pursuit; among whom the Viscount of *Stathallan*, Col. *Maclauchlan*, with his Major, and most part of their officers; Colonel *Macgillivray*, and Major *Macbean* of the regiment of *Macintoshes*, with all their officers, and most of their private men; Colonel *Maclean* of *Drimmin*, with his Major, almost all his officers, and his two sons. About one thousand were wounded; among whom was *Macdonald* of *Keppoch*, who died some few days after, with *Cameron* of *Lochiel*, and almost all their officers; young *Frazer* of *Inverlachy*, a Lieutenant-Colonel; *Hugh Frazer*, Lord *Lowat's* Secretary; and many others too tedious here to mention. Brigadier *Stapleton* died of his wounds some few days after.

The

The young Pretender, having seen the flight of his men, ordered a house behind which he stood to be set on fire, and by means of the smoke he crossed the *Nairn*, whither *Perth*, Lords *Ogilvy* and *Pitsligo*, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, Lord *George Murray*, with Lord *John* and *Lewis Drummond* repaired, with a considerable number of such as had escaped. They had all swords, but few or none of them retained their firelocks: many of them were wounded, and their ears were dinned with the noise of the soldiers, who were tossing up their hats in the air, and calling out, "Come down ye dogs, and we will cut you in pieces." They seemed to be much discouraged, and the Pretender himself was not the last to complain; "D—n the shipping," says he; "there's now no more to be done." And so parting from his followers he, with some few horse, repaired to the house of *Frazer of Gortuleg*, in *Stratherrick*, where Lord *Lovat* lodged. He was received by his aged partizan with open arms: and his Lordship excused his attendance on account of his infirmities and years. After this he went to bed, and next morning set out for *Glengary*, where he resided for some time; but daily heard of the surrender of his troops, and the hardships that beset them.

Several officers of note were made prisoners: among whom the Earl of *Kilmarnock*; who, taking a party of dragoons for *Fitzjames's* horse, separated from the few that were with him, and came up to them. He was too near before he had discerned his mistake; so that to return was impracticable: Lord *Ancram* knew him and saved his life, or otherwise he would have been cut down. Their artillery, tents, and baggage were seized:

Sir *John Wedderburn*, Colonel *Farguharson*, Major *Stewart*, five captains, three ensigns, and six inferior officers, such as surgeons and engineers, with nine hundred private men were taken also. And all this with very little loss; there being only fifty killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded. Of the first was Captain Lord *Robert Ker*, of *Barrel's* regiment, and son to the Marquis of *Lothian*; his head was cut, by Major *Macbean*, from the crown thereof to the collar bone; and afterward he was hacked in pieces; Captain *Campbell* of Lord *Loudon's* regiment, Captain *Campbell* of the militia, and Captain *Groffet* of *Price's* battalion, of the second was Lieutenant-colonel *Riech*, whose right hand was cut off by the wrest, and left almost cut through above the fingers; he had likewise a deep wound in the elbow: one captain, one lieutenant, and two ensigns of *Barrel's* were wounded also; one captain of *Price's*, one lieutenant of *Bligh's*, one captain, two lieutenants, and two ensigns of *Monro's*, one captain of *Ligonier's* and one captain of *Batterau's*. The cavalry suffered but little; having only received some random shot from the more obstinate, who at times turned about upon them: *Kingston's* horse had but two killed and one wounded. *Howard's* *Cholmondley's*, and *Batterau's* lost but two or three, and *Pultney's* none. *Bligh's* sustained some small loss by firing of pistols, and from some of those who ran in among them: *Semple's*, who relieved *Barrel's*, had a small damage also.

In the mean time the Duke was improving his victory: he rode along the lines, and in a very princely manner heartily thanked them for their good behaviour, which he promised to represent to
the

the King. This done he ordered each man a glass of brandy and a biscuit, and, after receiving the compliments of the nobility, &c. upon his success, he pursued his way to *Inverness* at the head of his troops. They advanced huzzaing; and were answered by three rounds of the great guns from the ships in the road, who denounced to the people on the opposite shore the account of the event.

His Highness entered *Inverness* at the head of the dragoons, all bespattered with dirt, covered with dust and with sweat, and his sword in his hand. The bells were set a ringing, and the people gave the signal to huzza; but he moved his hand to give over, and calling for the keys of the prison ordered the doors to be set open and the prisoners to be brought forth; liberty was the first fruit of his conquest; and as the confined men came down stairs he clapped them upon the shoulder, saying, "Brother soldiers, you are free;" ordered an entertainment for them, and payment of all their arrears. About four o'clock the whole army came in; they advanced huzzaing, and seemed to be prodigiously pleased; and what tended to heighten the satisfaction was, that from the time of his entering *Inverness*, prisoners were either brought to him in troops, or else submitted themselves. Scarce was he two hours in town when six *French* officers, who had not been in the battle, wrote a letter to General *Bland*, surrendering themselves prisoners of war.

Such was the battle of *Culloden*, which the enemies of the Government have so cruelly represented to the shame and reproach of the illustrious Leader, who, under God was the chief instrument of the victory.

However,

However, the sinisterous representations against his Royal Highness arose from the frequent executions that followed the decisive action. Among the number of prisoners were many who had deserted the King's service; *Roy Steuart's* regiment was formed mostly of these, after the battle of *Preston-pans*: and if listing with the Pretender was a fault, certainly many of these were culpable. Three-fourths of Lord *Elcho's* regiments, of *Perth's* battalion, and of *Kilmarnock's* corps were from these deserters. *Roy Steuart*, who had the Pretender's cause more at heart than any other, came to Saint *Ann's* yards, behind *Holyrood-house*, and while a prodigious number of people were walking for curiosity, he spoke to about fourteen of *Hamilton's* dragoons, and of Major *Bowles'* troop, as they were desirous to enlist in his regiment. "Gentlemen," said *Roy*, "you certainly know the business we are upon; there is no force or compulsion upon you; pray lay your hands to your heart. If you join us you shall be well paid; but if you endeavour to deceive us, you can expect no mercy if ever you should fall into our hands." They insisted to be received, and he insisted on their digesting the matter before they were sworn. At the very time when *Roy* was dealing thus with them, a serjeant gave out that he was sick, and desired to be excused---*Roy* was so far from being angry, that he ordered him to be taken care of with the other prisoners; he retired, but took notes of all that had passed. These very men were taken in arms with the rebels; and the serjeant, being with the Royal army, swore in these terms before the court-martial. Indeed the fact could have been proved by many witnesses; but the
serjeant's

serjeant's testimony hanged them all. They were excuted on the common gallows, where two deserters from the Pretender had been hanged some few days before. They were all hung up in one morning, and the executioner stripping them naked, they were suffered to continue exposed for three days. Others were served in the same manner; among whom one *Niman Dunbar*, who had deserted from the regiment of guards; and, as he was a native of the adjacent county, the thing made the greater noise. What pity that the minutes of the court-martial had not been published: in that event the conduct of the generals would not have been so much blained, and that of his Royal Highness would have shone with lustre. *Hawley* was indeed enraged at the unhappy prisoners: five of whom had taken sanctuary at a place called *Petty*, about a mile from the field of battle. The evidence for the crown, that had taken away the lives of the first fourteen likewise destroyed these five. *Hawley* ordered twelve dragoons to put them to death in the place where they were: these just came at the time when *Shaw*, the minister, was just going to see them: they were taken out, set against a wall, and shot to death without further ceremony.

When his Highness came to hear of these frequent executions, he interposed his authority, and commanded that a report should be made to him before executing the sentence: among others one *Gordon*, who had been a soldier in the third regiment of guards, was brought to his trial, as being an officer in the rebel army. The Duke himself spoke to him; and when his Highness was told, that he (*Gordon*) had been ill used by his superior officers—that three times another person was made
a serjeant

a serjeant when the place properly belonged to him—the excuse was admitted: the man was received back to his own regiment, and is still alive. The clergymen both in *Stratherrick* and in the *Aird*, possessed by the *Frazers*, nine hundred of whom were in arms against the government, declared to me, that in obedience to the command of his Highness, they intimated from their pulpits, that all persons should be pardoned upon surrendering themselves to them; that the people gladly came in, had certificates of their surrender given them, and these were always sustained. In these districts not one house was burnt, except *Castle Downie*, the seat of the family of *Lovat*. I had the same account from the clergy of *Abertarff*; in which there was scarce a house burnt, except that of *Glengary* itself; which indeed was a pity, as it was a handsome building, and beautifully situated upon the side of a lake, out of which both salmon and trout might have been caught from any of the windows by a line. In *Lochaber* the house of *Achnacarrie*, belonging to *Lochiel*, and that of *Keppoch Macdonald* were also set in flames; but all more by the militia than by the regular forces.

It is a very disagreeable task to balance an account of burnings and plunderings between the Pretender's party and the regular troops; and yet we have in some measure drawn it out. The former was debtor, to the burning of the village of *Lismahago*, the beautiful and stately fabric of *St. Ninian's* church, the village of *Inverlochy*, and the houses in *Sutherland* before-mentioned: they likewise had been debtor, to burning the house of *Balnagown*, the place which gave title to the illustrious Lieutenant-general *Charles Ross*, had not *Lochiel* ordered

dered the fewel, which was piled up to set it on fire, to be carried off, just at the time when it was about to be kindled up. The reader may depend upon what is here said to be true.

His Highness, on the fourth day following *Culloden* battle, had the curiosity to dress himself like an ordinary officer and to walk toward the *Castle-hill*. When just past this place, he observed a man quite pensive and solitary, and, making toward him, began to converse about the state of the town before the arrival of the army. The man told him, "that he was a native of the place; that
" his house was below yonder hill, (pointing to it)
" that he had the honour to bear the King's com-
" mission, as you my dear young man do: I was
" gunner of that castle which lies in rubbish, and
" which was once an ornament to the parts; the
" force to reduce it was nothing at all; the officers
" in the garrison proposed to rally out upon the
" besiegers, and both Lieutenant *Graham* and I
" laid down a method to undermine them, if they
" proceeded to a sap. All was in vain: the go-
" vernor was against every thing; his brother vaf-
" sals (the *Grants*) had embraced a neutrality with
" the enemy; he got very good terms for himself,
" but the rest of the garrison, and I among others,
" have been stript of our all. The dialogue con-
" tinued for two hours; the young officer and the
" reduced gunner seemed to like each other extremely
" well: at last a lieutenant passing by, and knowing
" the officer, he came to him hat in hand, and began
" his business with, " May it please your Royal High-
" ness," The reduced gunner was struck with the
" expression, and coming forward almost trembling,
" he in the most submissive posture begged pardon

for not having treated his Highness as his dignity deserved. "No, no!" replied his Highness, "My little old man, you have treated me extremely well; from this time you shall be put in your usual pay, and in the mean while I desire you may go to the Secretary's office, and tell them from me, that you must have immediate payment of all your arrears." On which the two separated, his Highness repairing to his lodging, and Mr. *Thomson* the gunner, from whom I had the information, to the Secretary's office, as directed.

That very night the Duke remonstrated with *Howley* upon the impropriety of putting so many of the deserters to death, and in the most sympathizing manner insinuated that men were not made to starve: "You may," continued he, "try an officer for surrendering up a fort, when under no necessity to do it; but let not the blood of the poor be spilt profusely." His instructions were followed; *Grant* was arraigned before a court martial, when the evidence was so strong and full against him, that nothing but the interposition of his Highness could have mitigated the sentence, to declare him unworthy of his Majesty's service ever after.

It was in consequence of the conversation with Mr. *Thomson*, that his Highness performed an act sufficient to endear him to posterity; and though it turned out to the detriment of *Inverness*, yet it became a singular advantage to the country.

From the earliest period in the records of Scotland, we find that a castle was always looked upon as absolutely necessary at *Inverness*, and accordingly it continued upon one spot till the time of Oliver

Cromwell,

Cromwell, who blew up that fortification, and built another nearer the harbour, still holding it as a maxim, that a fort must infallible be there. At the restoration *Cromwell's* fort was razed to the ground, the old one was rebuilt, and continued to be augmented with many out-works and conveniences at a vast expence to the government, till the 18th of March 1746, when Major *Grant* surrendered it into the hands of the young Chevalier, who ordered the works to be blown up.

The Duke of *Cumberland* saw what had been hid from ages; he expressed his surprize that a fort should be built upon a spot commanding no pass or navigable river, and in all respects void of the advantages that ought to constitute a fortification. He preferred the place which old *Oliver* had fixed upon: however the magistrates would not dispose of this small parcel of ground (scarcely two square acres) for less than 25,000 l.

His Highness rode out with his engineers, and took a view of the coast; and getting the better of the false maxim, that a fort was absolutely necessary at *Inverness*, he judged, and very truly, that if a fort was built near it, the same might be more for the King's service. He had not rode above eight miles, when he came to a point of land called *Arderseir*, which lies opposite to *Rosmarkney* in *Rossshire*: between these is a gut two miles over, which begins at the great sea that spreads between *Norway* and the coast of *Scotland*, and propagates itself for twelve miles without making a safe or commodious harbour, except at *Arderseir*, where the inlet begins. The proprietor of this observe place, Mr. *Campbell*, of *Calder*, was more docile than the magistrates of *Inverness*:

he made a present to his Royal Highness of that large piece of waste ground, near the point, which scarcely yielded pasture for a few sheep in the summer season. All of a sudden five hundred men were set to work; architects, masons, smiths, joiners, and labourers were employed: and while the former were building the fortress, which owed its birth to his Royal Highness, who examined the plan thereof, the latter were occupied in cutting a canal from the sea to the gut quite round it; so that the fortress, which is a pentagon regularly flanked and strengthened by all kind of out-works, is a perfect island, defended by a deep wet ditch toward the country, and on the wings and front by the sea, which last constitutes a harbour, where the largest ships in the world may lie with safety.

Without the ditch a large and populous village is built, and many considerable merchants have settled in it, for the conveniency of trade and commerce. A road has been cut from *Perth* to the fort, which is full thirty miles nearer than that known by the name of *General Wade's* road to *Inverness*; the whole country is enriched by it; the barracks can contain six thousand men, and in its present situation, is as capable of holding out a siege as any one fortress in Europe.

What man alive could have thought about twenty years before, that the solitary place *Ardeer* would have put on so gay and so brilliant an aspect? Had a genius told the people in that neighbourhood of the wonderful change, they would like *Aeneas* in *Elysium*, have been transported with the prospect of what was to come; they would have been overjoyed to think that a beautiful structure, nay, a town to be called for their Sovereign, should

should rear its head at a place which had not so much as a name.

He did not spend his time in exercising severities for what was past; his aim was to confute the false calumnies and invectives raised against the crown, person and dignity of his Royal father, by a moderation and lenity not to be found in ancient times, and scarce to be believed in times to come. I have been told by the clergymen in those parts, that no sooner was a certificate produced from any of them of a man's having surrendered himself, than he was at full liberty to carry in all manner of provision to the camp, and was paid in ready money for every single article; for desiring safety, not revenge, he took nothing from his enemies, except the power of hurting; and even when these came to deliver up their arms, he accepted their submission with an air of sympathy, which discovered rather a concern for their misfortune, than a triumph for their misery; he received Lord *Lewis Drummond*, the *French* ambassador, and forty-nine other foreign officers, with great affability; He gave passports to the Pretender's servants, these being all *French*, and sent off the *French* prisoners to the number of one hundred and ten, to be exchanged for an equal number of the *British* forces; he did not assume the power of trying any one of the rebels: He referred these to be tried by the laws of their country. Among others were the Earls of *Kilmarnock* and *Cromartie*, with the unfortunate Lord *Balmerino*, whose case is too singular not to be represented.

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to one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, or to a minister of the Church of Scotland, great numbers embraced the golden opportunity, and among others Lord *Balmerino*. He no sooner heard of it, than he rode directly from *Aggimore*, and surrendered himself to Sir *Ludovick Grant*, at the castle of that name. Unluckily for his Lordship the *Grants* had embraced a neutrality, and his Highness, ever a greater enemy to the cunning of the fox, than the wrath of the lion, discovered a kind of reserve towards the generality of them; for when their chieftain came into *Inverness* attended by one hundred and seventy men of his own and of different surnames, his Royal Highness, though walking by the side of the river, neither went to view them himself, nor did any of his officers go: However, *Balmerino* was received without informing of his voluntary surrender; his Lordship thought, that it would be no more to his advantage to be spoken of by *Grant* than by him, so the favourable circumstance was not named; and what was still a greater infatuation, he did not so much as mention this in his defence, when he came to be tried.

It must be owned that *Grant's* conduct in other respects was preposterous; for the *Grants* of *Glenmoriston* were through his mistake led into a snare: they entered *Inverness*, and drew up in the same order as on the *Muir of Culloden*, armed cap-a-pee, to the number of three hundred: which the Duke observing, he walked up, asking "What body of men is there!" To which he was answered, "The *Grants* of *Glenmoriston*;" "To whom have they surrendered," replied his Highness? "To me," says *Grant*, "and to none in *Britain* would they

“ they have submitted, except to me.” “ No!” answered the Duke with a pause, “ I will let them know that they are the King’s subjects, and must likewise submit to me ;” and with these words he ordered a regiment to surround and disarm them: they were directly embarked on board the transports, and were next day shipped off for *Tilbury Fort*, with a clergyman of their name. It is observable, that none of these were tried for their lives; some of them died on ship-board, and the remainder were transported to his Majesty’s colonies, where, like others who had been involved in the calamities of their country, they settled, and procured a more comfortable sustenance than if they had remained at home.

The victory at *Culloden* gave birth to an inexpressible joy through the extensive dominions of the British empire; not only *Europe* and *Africa*, but the two *Indies* joined in the shout, and gave joyful acclamations. The night after the battle Lord *Bury* was dispatched with a letter to *St. James’s*, and taking the opportunity of a ship to *North Berwick*, where he landed on the 21st, he hired horses for *London*, where he arrived in the morning of the 24th, and delivered his message to the King. The news was declared from the great guns in the Park and in the Tower, and these were answered by the ships in the harbour, and by volleys from the small arms of the guards drawn up on the parade. The bells rung incessantly tunes suitable to the occasion, such as *Judas Maccabæus*, or *Britons strike home*. At night the bonfires and illuminations were general, and on the *Sunday* was the most brilliant Court that ever appeared on any other occasion, every
one

one taking a pride to pay their compliments. The Parliament was sitting, and both Houses congratulated their Sovereign upon the defeat of his enemies and the heroic part which "his son, the image of his virtues, had, in suppressing that project, upon the ruin of which the constitution was more firmly secured;" and without loss of time conferred upon his Royal Highness the yearly sum of 25,000*l.* in augmentation of the 15,000*l.* which he formerly enjoyed. They wrote him a congratulatory letter upon his glorious success, to which they received a very princely and obliging answer. A run of addresses, like the waves of the sea jostling out each other, crowded about the throne from every quarter; the pulpits and theatres sounded with the praises of our Deliverer; the streets rang with his eulogium; the presses teemed with the recital of his virtues, and the news-papers were filled with his applause; the sons of genius vied in his encomium; in *Scotland* his friends were so taken with him, that several children were baptized publicly in the churches by the name of *Cumberland William*, as a monumment of their gratitude for the blessings they had received through his means; and to crown all, the King wrote him an answer with his own hand, in which were these very words: "I desire you may give my hearty thanks to the brave officers and soldiers, who fought so gloriously at the late battle; and assure them no less of my real esteem, than of my constant favour and protection." All which was directly obeyed: He read over the letter in the midst of the soldiers, and on ending it, he renewed his hearty acknowledgments of their services, and at departing said; "You, gentlemen, have resisted

“ an attack, which I believe no troops upon earth
 “ could have withstood but yourselves; the enemy
 “ indeed fought like furies, and you, my fellow-
 “ soldiers, have behaved like so many heroes.” He
 never failed to acknowledge his sense of services
 done, whether by societies, or by individuals; and
 with his own hand wrote a letter to the Church of
Scotland, thanking them for their affection, loyalty,
 and zeal. His humanity went so far, that on hear-
 ing of the sorrow which the poor prisoners, who
 had lived for a piece of bread, daily sustained, not so
 much for what they were to undergo, as on account
 of having missed the opportunity of fighting under
 so glorious a commander, he ordered the regiments
 to be recruited from them; so that of eleven hun-
 dred of these, only forty fell by the hands of the exe-
 cutioner: could the strict and indispensable rules of
 the martial law have been got over, they would all
 have been spared, in the same manner as the others,
 who had been involved with the Pretender.

Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Sessions,
 and the Earl of *Loudon*, being returned, they
 advised to recruit the foot regiments from among
 the natives of the adjacent counties; a direc-
 tion that was complied with, but no new com-
 panies were raised at that time, though soon after
 a full regiment under Lord *Loudon* was mustered
 up; and to be still more agreeable, none of the
 regular troops were suffered to enter into rebel
 districts: that business was referred to the militia.
 Accordingly the *Argyleshire* Highlanders were sent
 into *Lochaber*, *Moidart*, and *Airsaig* and after-
 ward into the isles; their commander, General
Campbell, a man of as great humanity and polite-
 ness as any officer in *Europe*, would put an hard-

ship on no man: his officers breathed the sentiments of their general: however, they could not hinder the people of *Glengary* from firing the house of their chieftain, from any apprehension that the troops were intent upon destruction. The same thing might be said of the *Camerons* with regard to *Achnacarrie*, and of the other places which fell at that time; the people of *Lochaber* and *Glencoe*, of *Keppoch* and of *Moidart*, delivered up their arms, and continued in their own habitations, as did the clans scattered through the western isles; the *Sutherland* militia were sent into the *Aird*, and the district of *Strathglass*, and the *Grants* into that possessed by the *Mackintoshes*; but with no orders either to plunder or to burn.

Unfortunately for some of those, the people sent in among them pretended that money was due from the proprietors, under colour of which, some of the *Grants* and *Sutherland* people seized the cattle upon the premises, and sold them; some to the troops in the camp, and some to graziers, who hastened to be rich,

Among the number of those new graziers were some of these immoral clergymen, who, by the viciousness of their lives, had brought religion into contempt, and opened the mouths of the disaffected; these double dealers were of the names of *Grant* and of *Monro*, and among others was one *Rose Macinucater* minister of *Nairn*, a wretch of such uncommon wickedness of heart, that such a one ought never to have been born; one *Alexander Shaw* in *Braemurray*, who agreed to rear such as *Rose* had bought, through the winter, at the rate of 2*l.* 10*s.* for every twenty cows, assured me that most of them died through change of food, and
other

other inconveniences, so that *Rose* rather hurt than bettered his circumstances; and to complete his ruin, he died farmer, grazier, adulterer, smuggler, and bankrupt, having left at his death debts behind him to the amount of 25000 *l.* and scarce seven farthings in the pound to discharge them. I hope this circumstance will not be attributed to the Duke, or to any of the troops under his command; they had other business, as stragglers were daily coming in, among the number of whom were *Hugh Frazer*, one of Lord *Lovat's* secretaries, and *Robert Frazer*, the other amanuensis. Sir *James Kinloch* and his brother were seized by the *Hessians*, as was *Ker of Graiden*; the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, and *Mechel* the Pretender's valet, surrendered to Mr. *Buchanan* of *Drumachail*, who committed them to *Dumbarton* castle, till an opportunity offered of transporting them to *London*, where the Marquis was confined to the Tower, and soon died of a flux, the effect of his winter campaign; others gave out that his death was not natural: *Kilmarnock*, *Cromartie*, and *Balmerino*, were likewise imprisoned there.

But the business of the greatest moment was, an account that the most desperate among the Highlanders had got a supply of money from *France*, and that they had resolved to continue together; for on the 4th of *May* two *French* men of war had arrived off the coast of *Arisaig*, and sailed up *Lock Nuay*, not knowing the Pretender's disaster. About 35,000 *Louisdors* were landed from these for the use of his troops; on this a meeting was held among the chieftains, at which Lord *Lovat*, *Lochiel* and Secretary *Murray* were present: part of the money, was distributed, though *Murray* retained the major

part. Here it was agreed, that each chieftain should raise what men he could, and keep in a body until they could receive proper terms from his Royal Highness. Accordingly they rendezvoused at the head of *Lochargeg*, where they continued till the 29th of *May*, when the Duke's army advancing by the road, the scouts brought in such an account of their strength and alertness, as determined them to disperse, and every one to do the best he could for himself.

Being come to Fort *Augustus*, he expressed some concern at seeing such vast tracts of uncultivated ground, and at the unblindness of those who had blown up the beautiful and commodious barracks that had so lately been an ornament to that unfortunate district. From this he marched to Fort *William*; where not only Mr. *Scot*, the governor, but every private man in the garrison had the honour to kiss his hand, and to receive his thanks for the gallant defence they had made. He had not been long in *Lochaber* when Lord *Lovat* was taken, being discovered by the very persons to whom he had given bread. His Lordship was confined on board the *Furnace*, and from thence was escorted by a Party of dragoons by the way of *Edinburgh* and *Newcastle* to *London*, where he was confined to the Tower: so that his premium mobile of the rebellion being now in the government's power, and fifteen of the Pretender's standards, taken at *Culloden*, being burnt on the 5th of *June* by the common hangman, his Highness thought all was safe, and set out on the 20th of *July* for *London*, where he arrived in six days, to the universal joy of all who saw him. In his way he honoured Lord *Breadalbane* with a visit, and staid with him
a night

a night at *Taymouth*. The second night he lodged at *Stirling*; and on the next day dined at *New Leston*, the seat of the Earl of *Stair*; where he was magnificently and nobly entertained. He declined all public acknowledgements; but only received the freedom of some places, as of *Edinburgh* and *Newcastle*, in gold boxes.

All this time the Parliament was examining into the rise of the late troubles, and on the 8th of June attained of high treason forty-six different persons: * appointing them to be prosecuted, unless before the 12th of July they should surrender themselves. None of these suffered; they having either escaped or complied. Among the latter was Secretary *Murray*, who, thinking to make a merit of bearing testimony against Lord *Lovat*, proffered his service, to the Lord Justice Clerk for *Scotland*. His proposal was accepted, and he apprehended by a party of dragoons, who on the 28th of June, conducted him to *Edinburgh*, whence he was carried to *London*, and appearing in the Court of *King's-Bench* in *Westminster-hall*, he pleaded, that he had dissolved the force of the bill of attainder, by surrendering to a proper officer. The Attorney-general admitted the fact, and the Court having a
power

* Perth, the Earl of Kelly, the Viscount of Strathallan and his son, the Viscount of Dunder, Lords Elcho, Nairn, Ogilvy, Lord George Murray, John Drummond, and Lewis Gordon, the Master of Lovat; Mercer of Aldie, Sir William Gordon of Park, John Murray of Broughton, Secretary; Glenbucket, Lochiel junior, and his brother Dr. Cameron; Camerons of Torcastle and Dungallan, Ciaranald Junior, Keppoch, Barrisdale, Glencoe, Cluny, Mclauchlan, Mackinnon, Aidsheil, Gask senior and Junior, young Carnwarth, and Airth, Roy Steuart, Farquerson of Monastery, Drumnaglash, &c.

power by virtue of a writ of *Certiorari* to them directed from the Court of *Chancery*, they made a record of the same.

Upon the 20th of July the Judges sat at *Saint Margaret's-Hill*, where Colonel *Townley*, Counsellor *Morgan*, *Andrew Blood*, and other officers of the *Manchester* regiment appeared before them. The trials of the three last were but short, and as *Townley's* defence of being in the *French* service was unanimously over-ruled, they were all condemned to die, and on the 31st were hanged, drawn and quartered at *Kennington Common*.

Some of the principal *Scots* Gentlemen were tried there likewise, as Sir *John Wedderburn*, *Hamilton* governor of *Carlisle*, Sir *James Kenloch*, and his brother Mr. *Alexander*. The case of these two last is too singular to be passed over.

The two Gentlemen had been arraigned before the ordinary Jury; but as the trial promised to be long, and the court was weary, it was put off till next day; when the twelve Judges of *England* sat upon the indictment, and another jury was called, the former being discharged. The counsel for the prisoners moved against the legality of arraigning them before any other jury than that which at first was charged with them; and that by *Magna Charta* no man was to be arraigned before separate juries upon the same fact. After many arguments *pro* and *con* the Judges gave their opinion: and Mr. *Justice Wright* differed from the whole: for his judgment was, that no other jury had a power to try the prisoners, except that before whom they were first called: so that they were tried cast, and condemned; but it was thought prudent not to execute the sentence.

The

The counsel for the crown were Sir *Dudley Rider*, Mr. *Murray* (now Lord *Mansfield*) Sir *John Strange*, and Mr. *Yorke* (now Attorney-General.) The witnesses were wretches guilty of the crime of rebellion. The counsel for the prisoners offered to prove some of them to be the most flagitious of mortals : but in this they were answered by a question put by Sir *John Strange* : " Was there," said he, " a man of probity or honour in the rebellion ? " To which an answer was a matter of delicacy, and so he received no reply. However, the question might have been answered, with great truth, That above a thousand people of real probity and worth were in that rebellion; but that they had done mischief ignorantly, not knowing the *English* tongue, even in the *Scots* dialect.

On the 1st of September the assizes began at *Carlisle*, when three lawyers went from *Edinburgh* to plead the cause of the prisoners : but their defence " That accomplices could not be admitted witnesses in the case of treason," being soon overruled, the trials were far from being tedious ; the return, **Guilty**, was made in a moment. The gentlemen of the jury were of the militia that had been stationed at *Carlisle* when the Pretender came there, so that neither the tenderness nor advice of the Judges could restrain their havock. Here, of one hundred and five, thirty suffered, five were acquitted, and seventy were pardoned. Hence they went to *York*, where the jury acted with great candour and humanity : but here, as at *Carlisle*, the evidence was irresistible. Among others came on the trial of two *Frenchmen*, whose defence was, " That in the nature of things they could not be " construed traitors to his Majesty King *George*, as " being

“ being foreigners, and had never sworn allegiance to him.” The plea of the one was sustained; as he had come over with the Pretender’s party in the heat of the rebellion: but that of the other was repelled; as a distinction was made, that though he owed the King of *Great Britain* no natural, yet a local allegiance was due, as the prisoner had come over under the protection of the *Dutch* General, who landed with auxiliaries in support of his Majesty: on this he was condemned, but on his way to the gallows, a pardon was brought him. Here, of seventy-four prisoners, thirty-five were condemned, twenty-two of whom suffered by the hand of an executioner, and fifteen were suffocated in the prison, as they had set fire to the prison door, in order to escape. In short, only seventy-four were put to death by course of common law, for rebellion against a King who had ruled eighteen years according to law. Whereas six hundred were put to death anno 1685, for taking arms against King *James II.* or *VII.* who in five months had violated the first principles of *Magna Charta*.

But a greater trial than any of these was that of the Earls of *Kilmarnock* and *Cromarty*, with Lord *Balmerino*, before the House of Peers, an indictment being found against them by the *Surrey* jury. The two Earls pleaded Guilty; but his Lordship denied the charge, on a false apprehension, that no jury could find a bill of indictment, unless it was composed of men in-dwellers in the county where the crime was charged to have been committed; and that the time of his guilt was not properly specified, he having been twelve miles from *Carlisle* at the time when he was charged to have been there. Both his defences were over-ruled,
and

and the witnesses swore point blank against him. On this they were condemned to die: but before sentence was pronounced, *Kilmarnock*, with great propriety of accent, set off by the elegance of his person, which might have adorned any assembly, urged the loyalty of his ancestors their behaviour at the revolution, and since that period: he appealed to the conduct of his father in the year 1715, at which time he himself bore arms for the Government: he mentioned the behaviour of his son, who bore his Majesty's commission, and on *Culloden* field had behaved as became him: he told them, he abhorred the thoughts of being pardoned thro' the influence of a foreign Court; that he was far from being considerable among the rebels, and had no share in any of their barbarities: and so concluded with recommending himself to his Majesty's compassion, and their Lordships sympathy.

The Earl of *Cromartie*'s arguments flowed from his own personal distresses: he told their Lordships, that he, had involved an affectionate wife, and with her an unborn infant, his eldest son, and eight other innocent children, who must feel their parents punishment before they knew his guilt: "Let them, my Lords, be pledges to his Majesty: let them be pledges to your Lordships, let them be pledges to my country for mercy; let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears, let the powerful language of innocent nature, supply my want of eloquence and persuasion:—let my remorse for my guilt as a subject, let the sorrows of my heart as an husband, let the anguish of my mind as a father, speak the rest of my misery! Your Lordships are men, you feel as men; but may none of you ever suffer the smallest part of what I suffer."

“ suffer.” This being over, the Lord Chancellor *Hardwicke*, then Lord High Steward, before passing sentence, made a speech, in which, after pointing out the heinousness of the crime of rebellion, especially against a King famous through the world for his mild and easy government, he told them, “ that the death of every person, who fell during “ the troubles, was a murder; that the many “ murders of the innocent soldiers were rather “ chargeable upon the chiefs the principal, than “ upon their inferiors and followers, though the “ instrumental cause; and that the deaths of the “ criminals, whom justice had overtaken, were “ only to be ascribed to those who had involved “ them in the desperate cause.”

As it was foreseen that intercession would be made, it was resolved in council that two of the three should die, the cries for justice being loud and piercing; the interest for the Earls was great, while that for *Balmerino* was nothing at all, which the King observing, he said: Many apply for “ *Kilmarnock* and *Crémartie*, but none for *Bal-* “ *merino*; I believe him to be the honestest man “ of the whole, and must do something for him “ myself;” which he certainly would have done, had he not laid it down as a maxim never to thwart his Privy Council.

The opinion without doors was, that *Kilmarnock*’s interest would have prevailed in consideration of his ancestors, and the fidelity of his son: add to this, that Lady *Charlotte Hamilton*, daughter to the Duke, who was killed in *Hyde-Park*, was incessant for his Lordship; the fate of the two Earls hung in equilibrio, till the diligence of the Countess

Countess of *Cromartie* turned the scale in favour of her Lord.

That Lady being then with child, went almost to all the nobility and gentry about Court, and at last to the Princess of *Wales*; and getting ready access, she fell upon her knees, begging, "that her Highness would have mercy on her, and on her five children, (pointing to them) and intercede for her unfortunate Lord." "Wait there," replied her Highness, "and I shall soon bring you an answer;" so withdrawing a few moments, she returned with her five children, the eldest of whom (the Princess of *Brunswick*) was just turned of nine years, and setting them before her, said, "Pray, Madam, what compassion had your Lord upon my five children and me? It is true, I am not *now* in your case, but *then* I was; and God knows what would have come of them, or of me, had your husband's scheme taken place! however I shall intercede with his Majesty for him;" which that very night she endeavoured to do.

Not contented with this, Lady *Cromartie* went to *Kenington*, and at the time of his Majesty's going to chapel, presented a petition to him: he just took it out of her hand, when she fell backward and fainted away; which the King observing only with the last glance of his eye, he ordered her to be taken up, and with his usual sedateness said, "I shall consider her case;" which he accordingly did, and next morning signed a reprieve for ninety-nine years. This determined the fate of the other two, who suffered on the 18th of August. At going out of the *Tower-gate*, and hearing the ordinary say, "God save King *George*,"

Kilmarnock bowed very reverently; whereas *Balmerino* taking off his hat, and waving it, cried, "God save King *Y—s*, and all his Royal family." From the time that the Earl quitted the gate he attracted the eyes of all the spectators, being about six foot high, cloathed in black, with a bag appending to his hair, and walking in the most decent, serious and majestic manner; he was attended by Mr. *Foster*, a dissenting Clergyman, a gentleman of real goodness of heart, and endowed with the most extensive good-will to mankind: he had been at great pains both to bring his Lordship to a sense of his sin, and to be reconciled to the change he was to undergo. Happening to be in the *Tower* when the warrant came for execution, he contrived to let his Lordship know it in a manner the least likely to create a surprize: he introduced a discourse with General *Williamson* concerning death, which continuing some minutes, his Lordship said, "Is the death warrant arrived?" Being answered in the affirmative, Mr. *Foster* very properly replied, "We are all under sentence of death;" and entering upon a serious conversation, his Lordship became quite calm and serene.

Never did two unfortunate noblemen go to a block more different from each other than *Balmerino* and *Kilmarnock*, as will appear by the following little incident: the former desired to speak with the latter, which was granted; and then his Lordship asked, if he knew any thing of an order given by the *P—* on the morning of the battle of *Cullodan*, "to give no quarter to the Elector's troops on any account whatsoever." To this *Kilmarnock* replied, "that he had heard of such an order since that time, but as to himself he
" knew

"knew nothing of it." From this the former inferred, that no such order ever had existed, and the latter reasoned that the conclusion was not fair, "since such an order might have been given, tho' unknown to me." "It is," said *Balmerino*, "only an invention to palliate their own murders." Whether such an order existed by itself is a question; the Royalists roundly assert it; and I think it is substantially to be found in the Pretender's manifestoes; and it is known that many in the Pretender's army declared, that the soldiers should not meet with such kind treatment as hitherto they had done.

When *Kilmarnock* appeared on the scaffold, he drew sighs from every heart, and tears from every eye; the executioner himself, tho' he had on him part of the cloaths in which Colonel *Townley* had suffered, shed tears, and fainted away, till revived by artificial spirits, when his Lordship spoke to him, and gave him five guineas; after which he submitted to his fate, and the executioner severed his head from his body at one stroke, all but a small bit of skin that covers the *obliquus inferior*.

Next came *Balmerino*, who hitherto was so obscure, that on mounting the scaffold the croud was at a loss to know the criminal, till he began to prepare for the block: perhaps his chagrin arose from the faint impression which his voluntary surrender had made upon the government: he did not consider that the same was not properly known. But be that as it will, his deportment startled the executioner, to whom he gave three guineas; so on taking the ax out of his hand, and thumbing it, he walked round a part of the stage moving it up and down in his hand so that the very men attending

ing the sheriff became affrighted, and reproached *Jack Ketch* for his simplicity; however no bad consequence ensued, the ax was restored, when the terrified fellow did his business but poorly, not finishing it with less than three blows.

The next sufferer was *Mr. Charles Ratcliff*, who by a warrant from the King's Bench, was beheaded on *Little-Tower-hill*, for a treason committed about thirty years before: he had behaved insolently to the Court, pleading his peerage, and the privilege of being a subject to the *French King*; for snatching the hand of one of the jury as these sat upon the identity of his person, he said, "Here is the hand of a man amongst the lowest class of mechanics; Is this a proper person *Mr. Lee* for trying a peer?" But upon the scaffold, December the 9th, his deportment was every way composed and serene, and he died a Roman catholic.

But the greatest trial of all was that of *Simon Lord Lovat*, whose two Secretaries, with three others of the name of *Frazer*, and *John Murray* of *Broughton* appeared against him. One *Chevis* deposed, "That his general discourse for many years had been in favour of the Pretender's person and interest, that he had cursed the reformation for introducing a false religion, and the Revolution for involving *Great-Britain* in an immense load of debt; that he drank confusion to the Royal family under the masked expression of, *The white horse and all the generation of them*; that his Lordship and *Roy Steuart* had diverted themselves with poetical compositions in *Erse*, of which they tried a translation sufficiently expressive of a real wickedness of heart." *Murray* had given up his letter to the Pretender, and
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ther to *Lochiel*, a third to himself, a fourth to the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, and two to his own son the Master of *Lovat*. *Robert Frazer* swore to his writing these letters, and that they had been dictated word for word by his Lordship; produced duplicates of such as had been worn or effaced, and gave in two letters received from the Master, one from the Pretender, with one signed by *Lochiel*, *Cluny*, and *Murray*, earnestly praying he would throw off the mask, and join openly; and at last Sir *Everard Falkener* swore to a letter received by his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*. From these it appeared clearly that he had been the life and soul of the Pretender's cause for many years, the chief promoter of that rebellion so lately suppressed; and that he had sent out his Son with nine hundred *Frazers* into it. The speech of Sir *William Young* at opening the indictment is among the most nervous to be met with upon this or any other occasion: "When I look to the prisoner at the bar, I am moved with pity for his infirmities and years:—but, my Lords, had his scheme succeeded, such of your Lordships as had escaped with your lives, when fighting for your religion and liberties, would have been arraigned at that very bar before a body of mock peers, who would have rejoiced in your sufferings!" It is imagined, that if the Pretender had prevailed, *Lovat* would have been tried for high treason.

On finding him guilty, the Lord High Steward, before passing sentence, made a speech, in which he said, that it had been happy for his Lordship, if the terrors of the law had retained him in his allegiance, when his oaths and his engagements were

were too weak ties to bind him: he observed that the foreign enemies of *Great-Britain* were not so forward to invade her, as her own degenerate and unnatural sons; that whether this backwardness proceeded from the little dependance to be had on so false a set of men, or from the great improbability that a general infatuation should all at once seize the people of *Great-Britain*, so as to make them renounce their allegiance to a protestant King, who reigned in justice and with mercy, and declare for a popish Pretender, long since abjured by the most solemn oaths, in either case, continued he, *France* was in the right; for what faith could be put in so detestable a croud of parricides? After mentioning his being a Roman Catholic in private, and a Protestant by his oaths to the government, he proceeded to lament the situation of the people in the remote parts of *Scotland*, who, in consequence of an abject subjection to their chiefs and superiors, must be compelled to take up arms, and be forced to rebel against their lawful Sovereign. Now, said he, we know the disease, and can better apply a remedy; and having remarked that the Protestant Succession was not an empty name, but something real and essential, he concludes with these words: "Your Lordship has led a life of craft, dissimulation, and perfidy; but the sentence which I am to inflict upon you, will soon send you to a tribunal, where no disguise nor artifice can avail you."

April the 9th he was led to the scaffold, and behaved in the same manner as at *Kirkhill*, or at *Beaufort*, speaking in *English*, in *Latin*, and in *French* by turns: he told the sheriff that he was glad he had fallen into such good hands, and that
he

he must obey him even *in articulo mortis*. He then repeated these admirable words of *Ulysses*, out of *Ovid*; lines which he had pronounced on many occasions.

*Nam genus et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi
Vix ea nostra voca!*

*The deeds of long-descended ancestors
Are but by grace of imputation ours,
Theirs in effect!*

Whether he meant this of the Pretender, or of his own son, is not determined, nor have we any thing to guide our conjecture, except the next elegant phrase out of *Horace*:

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori—

*'Tis a becoming and a pleasant thing for a man to
die for his country.*

So giving ten guineas to the executioner, he desired him to do his business well, and added smiling, "If you mangle me, and I lift up my head, I shall be very angry." This being over, he was led to the block by two yeomen of the Tower, and as he walked along said, *Je meurs un fils indigne de l'Eglise Romaine*. His head, notwithstanding the shortness of his neck, was, by one full, well-aimed, and strenuous blow, severed from his body. Soon after this an act of indemnity passed, in which were but few exceptions.

The hardships of others concerned in the rebellion were great; *Strath-Spey* was the place to

which *Toy Stewart* and some of the most guilty resorted to *St. Till m. Cordon* of *Park*, and others retired into *Shetland*, from whence many of them fled over to the *Orkneys* and *Shetland*, and from thence into *Norway* and *Sweden*. Their native country was the least asylum to the fugitives; the northern counties of *England* yielded no refuge; and in *Scotland* the informations were continual. Their only sanctuary was *London*, and thither did crowds of them repair. Whatever were the sufferings of others the Pretender himself underwent little more than what might have been expected. It is surprising that a young man of any degree of sagacity could not foresee that *London* would be his only sanctuary. I have been told, he was in that metropolis in the year 1751, and it is generally believed that he was in *Westminster-hall* on the 22d of Sept. and saw the coronation dinner about ten years afterwards. One thing is certain, he shifted and roamed through the Highlands and Islands for five months; during which time he was almost in continual alarms.

From *Gortuleg*, where he had slept the night after the battle, he on the next day retired to *Glen-gary-house*; and from thence rode to *Ruthven* of *Badenoch*, where Lord *George Murray* had discharged his followers, and bid every man shift for himself. The inhabitants there had been of his party, but were not at the battle; and these entertained him for five days, in the remotest parts of the district. After this time there was no great encouragement to stay there; as the *Macphersons* had in obedience to the proclamations of his Royal Highness, surrendered to *Blair*, the clergyman of *Kinguishie*: he thought it more safe to retire into
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the country of the *Camerons*, as nearer the sea, in case he should be too closely pursued. Accordingly he repaired to *Achnacarrie*, where *Lochiel* was lying ill of the wounds he had received: and here continued till the time the *Argyleshire* Highlanders marched into *Lochaber*. *Lochiel*, being a man of spirit, urged him to do something for retrieving his affairs; but to no purpose: he had been greatly chagrined at his disaster, and declined appearing any longer in arms. From this he retired farther toward the sea, and put up in the house of *Macdonald* of *Kingsborough*, where a party of *Kingston's* horse had almost surpris'd him. Some of these informed me, that they frequently had a sight of him at a distance, such as on an opposite side of a morass, a lake, or some such security. Enraged at this disappointment they seized upon *Macdonald*, as he had conducted him out of the house by a secret passage, even at the time when they were rummaging the several rooms of the dwelling in quest of him. I saw *Macdonald* as they were escorting him into *Edinburgh*, and was present when he was confined there. How unfortunate was the Fugitive to be absent when the *French* ships landed the money on the 4th! These carried off *Perth*, Lord *Elcho*, Lord *John Drummond*, and many other officers. From *Kingsborough* he went to the dwelling of Colonel *Macdonald* of *Barisdale*, who seemed at first not to shew the same regard as hitherto: however, in a short time he became more obsequious than ever, and began to lay down a variety of schemes, either for supporting him by force, or for extricating him by a timely escape out of all his hardships: but in this he was acting deceitfully; for he had already been with *Harvey*

and had agreed to get the Stranger delivered into the hands of the Government; but in such a manner as to reflect no dishonour upon himself. The Fugitive and his guardian *S. Tho. Sheridan*, who was still with him, began to harbour some suspicion of the man, which encreased the more, as he went out one morning, as he said, to kill a deer; but in reality to inform the garrison at *Fort Augustus*, that the Pretender was safe at his house. A party set out the moment they received the information, and certainly would have seized him, had not he and *Sheridan* beheld them, from an eminence, advancing to the house where they had been lodged. On this they hastened toward the head of *Loch Sornard*, almost opposite to *Fort William*, where a servant of *Cameron of Callard* procured them a boat, which carried them down by the back of *Lismore*, and doubling the point of *Morvern*, sailed with them pretty far through the *Sound of Mull*. As it was night they put in at *Cambusnaguel*; where, meeting with an hearty country gentleman, and a devotee of the Church of *Rome*, they were properly refreshed; and, as the gentleman could not prevail upon them to stay with him, or divert themselves about *Mingrycastle*, by hunting in the woods, they at night crossed the *Sound* to *Morenish*, hoping they might find a vessel to convey them out of the *British* dominions; but in this they were disappointed; And yet his forlorn condition could not hinder *Sheridan* from looking narrowly into the natural advantages of the Harbour of *Tobermorry*, which has so much attracted the speculation of the curious.

Tobermorry Harbour, in the *Isle of Mull* (a part of the *Duke of Argyle's* estate) is perhaps one
of

of the finest and most commodious in *Europe*. It lies within seven miles of the *Western Ocean*, is sheltered by the high grounds of *Morenish*, which almost form a very large segment of a circle about it, and the deficiency of the curve is supplied by a small island called *Calva* (belonging to the same Nobleman) about which the sea ebbs and flows. The water to within two yards of the shore is of a depth sufficient for ships of burthen to ride in safety.

Whatever asylum *Tobermory* might have given the Pretender in the year 1588, it was a very improper place for him now; and therefore he retired directly to *Mackinnon's* house at *Muesnish*, hoping that as the lady was sister to *Clanranald*, she might in some measure contribute to his escape: but here he was mistaken, for neither the gentleman nor his spouse were at home: so resolving to lose no time, he hastened to the boat, and passing by *Macleans Nose*, an high promontory, he sailed out into the ocean, and in a few hours landed at *Eagg*; the proprietor of which Mr. *Macleane* entertained him hospitably. Here he might have continued some days, but afraid of a discovery, he sailed over to *Canna*, a small island belonging to *Clanranald*; and which from its situation, had a very extensive prospect; so that no ship could come from any part of the compass without being descried at a considerable distance.

After staying here about ten days, he crossed over to *South-Uist*, where he was received by the Lady *Clanranald* and her daughters, who seemed to discover a sympathy toward him, tho' the inhabitants were desirous he should be gone, as they were apprehensive of a visit from some of the King's ships, as had happened both at the Revolution,

lution, and in the year 1716, and even at this very time; he had not stayed here above eight days, when he went over to *Barra*, an island laying at the foot of *South-Uist*, and separated from it by an eddy; he was advised to go over to *Ireland* with Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, who assured him of his knowing the country well, and laid down the most probable means of escaping into *France* from some port of that kingdom.

The arguments of *Sheridan* could not prevail with him to pass over into *Ireland*, where the Parliament had set 50,000*l.* upon his head, The Earl of *Chesterfield* was that year Lord Lieutenant, and he had by a mild and popular administration secured the people so firmly to the Government, that both Roman Catholics and Protestants seemed to be reconciled; and the ports were so narrowly watched, that there was no landing there. The Chevalier knew this, and his imagination figured the danger to be more than it really was; so that he and *Sheridan* parted with mutual embraces, the latter giving a full and absolute promise, that as soon as possible a ship should be sent to carry him over; and commending him to his good fortune, the one put to sea, and the other returned to *Clanranald's* house.

It was now the beginning of June: daily accounts were arriving of the surrender of those concerned with him; the King's ships were upon the coast, but did not land; they only contented themselves with throwing some few balls among the houses and sheep-folds, but at too great a distance to do any great mischief.

It does not appear from the *History of Scotland* that ever a body of men entered *South Uist* in an hostile

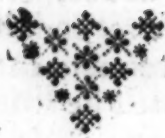
hostile manner since the time when the *Danes* forded it over the *Hebrides*, anno 1050, till this very period. His Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* was the person to propose it, and General *Campbell* the officer to undertake the execution of the plan which his Royal Highness had laid down. The *Argyleshire* militia had marched through *Lewis*, *Harris*, and *North-Uist*, and were upon the frontiers of *South-Uist*, before the unhappy fugitive had an account of their being near him. Fortunately for him one Miss *Flora Macdonald*, daughter to Capt. *Hugh Macdonald*, who had been an officer in the *French* service, undertook to carry him through the midst of those who were in search of him: he put off his own clothes, and assumed the low dress of a menial servant running at the horse foot. Upon coming to the small eddy that separates *North* and *South-Uist*, the servant became more affrighted for fear they should accost him in *Erse*, a language which he did not understand: they did indeed speak to him in that tongue, but Miss *Flora* told them that he was a servant from the Low-country; she conversed with them, took the matter upon herself, and was actually believed. He continued in Miss *Flora's* service for twenty days, when a discovery being made that the servant was the Pretender himself, the search became more violent: and Miss *Flora* falling into their hands just about four hours after she had parted from him, and had left him with a friend, she made a full discovery of all that she knew about him, and directed to the very place where he was. Fortunately for him one of the servants came in and told, that a party of the *Argyleshire* militia was advancing: this filled him with the
most

most dismal apprehensions : there was no remedy but to put on womens clothes ; and in this dress he passed for a cousin to the landlady of the house, and even witnessed the search that was making for him : There was not the least observation made upon the Mistress's cousin, further than that she was extremely tall. Miss continued in her clothes for four hours ; but upon the party going away in quest of their prey, the Pretender assumed his former habit, and going out, he took a private road by himself, without trusting any person : for two days he wandered in this way, and on the morning came to a fisherman, who had some fish ; the stranger was hungry and ene being near who knew him, he was entertained with some broiled fish, and such bread as is used in these parts. On going off he offered a *Louisd'ore* ; but the people told him, that the search for him was brisk, and if any money was found upon them it might raise a suspicion ; and so he departed. For fourteen days he continued in this forlorn state, the militia seeking for him on all sides, and frequently coming to the very place which he had but just quitted. Mr. *Campbell*, who was sent to take up the arms both of the enemies and friends of the government, relates, that he has frequently been upon the opposite side of the hill from him, and at other times in a small boat just of the shore where the militia were marching.

As the search became every-day hotter, in consequence of the information given by Miss *Macdonald* when under examination, he retired over to the *Isle of Sky*, hoping both to find friends there, and that the search would be somewhat abated. He generally set off in the night-time, and

and continued either at sea through the day, or else upon the top of some mountain, whence he could have a view of the adjacent country. While in *Sky* he one day accidentally met with a man, whose name was *Neil Mackinnon*, and he carried him to the house of one of his relations, where he was properly refreshed, but did not discover who he was. The common people of that island are among the most courteous to strangers of any in the kingdom; the destitute fugitive observing him to be very ready to oblige him, he informed who he was: the man was struck with the matter, and therefore conducted him to the house of Capt. *Mackinnon*, to whom he was personally known: that very night some strangers came to the house, which raised the more circumspection. The Captain informed a younger brother of the matter, and it was concluded that he should be put to bed, and a woman's clothes to be laid over his upon the chair that stood near; and this was the second time he ever had recourse to the expediency of a woman's habit. After passing ten days in *Sky*, he went over to *Raarsa*, where he continued tolerably safe, and shifting his abode, crossed to the continent of *Kintail*, where one day he went into a house to have some refreshment, but the landlord, named *Macra*, declared he would entertain none, except such as he knew. This being the case, the fugitive strolled over the Highlands of *Rossshire*, came down by the district of *Strathglass*, and from thence into *Lochaber*, where the search had entirely abated, and here he continued by the seaside, but never above one night in an house, till the 12th of September, when a ship from *Boulogne* entered the bay of *Barisdale*, and the Cap-

tain having a letter from Mr. *Butler*, an *Irish* gentleman, and a merchant at *Boulogne*, he was prevailed on to come to an appointed place, and to have an interview with the Captain, who delivered him another letter from Sir *Thomas Sheridan*; by which, and other circumstances, being convinced of the integrity and uprightness of the man, he went on board, and coasting by the back of *Ireland*, the vessel sailed towards *Brest* in *Picardy*; but being met by one of his Majesty's men of war, the ship was obliged to crowd sail, and make all possible haste to *Morlaix*, where he landed to the astonishment of all who saw him, as he brought nothing but the shattered remains of his constitution, to point out his own ambition and rashness, and to shew the power of our King's son, whose name had already been a terror to the armies and councils of *France*.



A P P E N D I X.

A N A C C O U N T OF THE R E B E L L I O N IN THE YEAR 1715.

IT will be necessary, before we proceed with an account of the Rebellion that broke out in the year 1715, to give a general idea of the situation of affairs at the accession of King *George I.* to the British throne.

The whigs, who had been in disgrace the four last years of Queen *Ann's* reign, were full of resentment at the usage they had received from the tories, and hoped to have full satisfaction under the new reign, which they looked upon as the end of their humiliation. The tories, on their part, were extremely apprehensive of a downfall, and this apprehension had engaged several of their leaders in practices not only dangerous, but directly contrary to the measures, the nation had taken with the two last Sovereigns and the house of *Hanover*.

Moreover, the principles of the revolution had been far from being universally embraced. Not only the papists espoused the abdicated family, but also great numbers of churchmen; and it was much to be feared, that they would join with the catholics, to dethrone a Prince, whom they looked upon as a foreigner; and several refused to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration.

Scotland was generally dissatisfied with the union. They were apt to consider themselves as degraded to a province of *England*. They had always been pleased with the title of an independant kingdom, heartily lamented the loss of it, and as heartily wished to recover it. That the *Scots* should at King *George's* accession, be in these sentiments, is no great wonder, since it requires ages to root out of the minds of a nation such sort of impressions, however ill-grounded.

As for *Ireland*, the chief thing to be dreaded there was the great number of papists, who are ever ready to throw off the yoke of the *English*. A little more conduct in King *James II.* and a little more resistance from *France*, would have endangered that kingdom. Such was the state of the British dominions in the year 1714, when King *George I.* came to the throne.

Scarce had his Majesty swayed the British sceptre twelve months, when riots and tumults were spread throughout the kingdom. Upon this account the Commons unanimously resolved to address the King, desiring that the laws might be vigorously executed against the rioters. They prepared the proclamation-act, decreeing, that if any persons to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour after
having

having been required to disperse, by a justice of peace or other officer, and heard the proclamation against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

When the King went to the House of Peers on the twentieth of July, to give his royal assent to this and some other bills, he told both houses, that a rebellion was actually begun at home, and that the nation was threatened with an invasion from abroad. He therefore expected, that the commons would not leave the kingdom in a defenceless condition, but enable him to take such measures as would be necessary for the public safety. Addresses in the usual stile were immediately presented by the parliament, the convocation, the common-council, and lieutenancy of *London*, and the two universities, though that of *Oxford* was received in the most contemptuous manner, the deputies being charged with disloyalty, on account of a fray which had happened between some recruiting officers and the scholars of the university. The addresses from the Kirk of *Scotland*, and the dissenting ministers of *London* and *Westminster*, met with a much more gracious reception. The parliament forthwith passed an act, empowering the King to secure suspected persons, and to suspend the Habeas-corpus act in that time of danger. A clause was added to a money-bill, offering the reward of one hundred thousand pounds to such as should seize the Pretender dead or alive. Sir *George Byng* was sent to take the command of the fleet: General *Erle* repaired to his government of *Portsmouth*: the guards were encamped in *Hyde-Park*: Lord *Irwin* was appointed Governor of *Hull*, in the room of Brigadier *Sutton*, who, with Lord *Windsor*,

Windsor, the Generals *Ross*, *Webb*, and *Stuart*, were dismissed from the service. Orders were given for raising thirteen regiments of dragoons, and eight of infantry; and the trained-bands were kept in readiness to suppress tumults.

About this period the royal assent was given to an act for encouraging loyalty in *Scotland*. By this law the tenant who continued peaceable while his Lord took arms in favour of the Pretender, was invested with the property of the lands he rented: and, on the other hand it was decreed, that the lands possessed by any guilty person of high treason, should revert to the superior of whom they were held, and be consolidated with the superiority: and, that the intails and settlements of estates since the first day of *August*, in favour of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the punishment of the law due to the offence of high-treason, should be null and void. It likewise contained a clause for summoning suspected persons, to find bail for their good behaviour, on pain of being denounced rebels. By virtue of this clause all the heads of the Jacobite clans, and other suspected persons, were summoned to *Edinburgh*; and those who did not appear were declared rebels.

The rebellion was now actually begun in *Scotland*. The dissensions occasioned in that country by the union had never been wholly appeased. Even since the Queen's death, addresses were prepared in different parts of *Scotland* against the union, which was deemed a national grievance: and the Jacobites did not fail to encourage this aversion. Though their hopes of dissolving that treaty were baffled by the industry and other arts of the Revolutioners, who secured a majority of
Whigs

Whigs in parliament, they did not lay aside their design of attempting something of consequence in favour of the Pretender; but maintained a correspondence with the malcontents of *England*, a great number of whom were driven by apprehension, hard usage and resentment, into a system of politics which otherwise they would not have espoused. The Tories finding themselves totally excluded from any share of the government and legislature, and exposed to the insolence and fury of a faction which they despised, began to wish in earnest for a revolution. Some of them held private consultations, and communicated with the Jacobites who conveyed their sentiments to the chevalier de *St. George*, with such exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerness and extravagance. They assured the Pretender, that the nation was wholly disaffected to the new government; and indeed the clamours, tumults, and conversation of the people in general countenanced this assertion. They promised to take arms without further delay in his favour; and engaged that the Tories should join them at his first landing in *Great-Britain*. They, therefore, besought him to come over with all possible expedition, declaring, that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution. The chevalier resolved to take the advantage of this favourable disposition. He had recourse to the *French King*, who had always been the refuge of his family. *Lewis* favoured him in secret; and, notwithstanding his late engagements with *England*, cherished the ambition of raising him to the throne of *Great-Britain*. He supplied him privately with sums of money, to prepare a small army in the port of *Havre*, which was equipped
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in the name of *Depine D' Auicaut*: and without all doubt, his design was to assist him more effectually, in proportion as the *English* should manifest their attachment to the house of *Stuart*. The duke of *Ormond* and the lord *Bolingbroke*, who had retired to *France*, finding themselves condemned unheard, and attained, engaged in the service of the chevalier, and corresponded with the *Tories* of *England*.

All these intrigues and machinations were discovered and communicated to the court of *London* by the Earl of *Stair*, who then resided as *English* ambassador at *Paris*. He was a nobleman of unquestioned honour and integrity, generous, humane, discerning and resolute. He had signalized himself by his valour, intrepidity, and other military talents, during the war in the *Netherlands*; and he now acted in another sphere with uncommon vigour, vigilance, and address. He detected the Chevalier's scheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave such early notice of it, as enabled the King of *Great-Britain* to take effectual measures for defeating the design. All the Pretender's interest in *France* expired with *Lewis XIV.* that ostentatious tyrant who had for above half a century sacrificed the repose of *Christendom* to his insatiate vanity and ambition. At his death, which happened on the first day of September, the regency of the kingdom devolved to the Duke of *Orleans*, who adopted a new system of politics, and had already entered into engagements with the King of *Great-Britain*. Instead of assisting the Pretender, he amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition. Nevertheless, the more violent
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part of the Jacobites in *Great Britain* believed he was at bottom a friend to their cause; and depended on him for succour. They even extorted from him a sum of money by dint of importunities, and some arms; but the vessel was shipwrecked, and the cargo lost on the coast of *Scotland*,

The partisans of the Pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with safety; and therefore resolved to try their fortune in the field. The Earl of *Mar* repaired to the Highlands, where he held consultations with the Marquisses of *Huntley* and *Tullebardine*, the Earls *Marischal* and *Southesk*, the Generals *Hamilton* and *Gordon*, with the chiefs of the Jacobite clans. Then he assembled three hundred of his own vassals, proclaimed the Pretender at *Castletown*, and set up his standard at *Braemar* on the sixth day of September. By this time the Earls of *Home*, *Wigtown*, and *Kinnoul*, the Lord *Desford*, and *Lockhart* of *Carnwath*, with other persons suspected of disaffection to the present government, were committed prisoners to the castle of *Edinburgh*; and Major-general *Whetham* marched with the regular troops that were in that kingdom to secure the bridge at *Sterling*. Before these precautions were taken, two vessels had arrived at *Arbroath* from *Havre*, with arms, ammunition, and a good number of officers, who assured the Earl of *Mar* that the Pretender would soon be with him in person. The death of *Lewis XIV.* struck a general damp upon their spirits, but they laid their account with being joined by a powerful body in *England*. The Earl of *Mar*, by letters and messages, pressed the Chevalier to come over without further delay. He in the mean time, assumed the title of Lieutenant-general of the Pretender's

der's forces, published a declaration, exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful sovereign; and this was followed by a shrewd manifesto: explaining the national grievances, and assuring the people of redress. Some of his partisans attempted to surprize the castle of *Edinburgh*; but were prevented by the vigilance and activity of Colonel *Stuart*, Lieutenant-governor of that fortress. The Duke of *Argyle* set out for *Scotland* as commander in chief of the forces in *North-Britain*: the Earl of *Sutherland* set sail in the *Queenborough* ship of war for the North, where he proposed to raise his vassals for the service of the Government; and many other Scottish peers returned to their own country, in order to signalize their loyalty to King *George*.

The friends of the house of *Steuart* were very numerous in the western counties, and began to make preparations for an insurrection. They had concealed some arms and artillery at *Bath*, and formed a design to surprize *Bristol*, but they were betrayed and discovered by the emissaries of the Government, which baffled all their schemes, and apprehended every person of consequence suspected of attachment to that cause. The university of *Oxford* felt the rod of power on this occasion. Major-general *Pepper*, with a strong detachment of dragoons took possession of the city at day-break, declaring he would use military execution on all students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges. He seized ten or eleven persons, among whom was one *Lloyd*, a coffee-man, and made prize of some horses and furniture belonging to Colonel *Owen*, and other gentlemen. With this booty he retreated to *Abingdon*.

don; and *Handasyde's* regiment of foot was afterwards quartered at *Oxford*, to overawe the university. The ministry found it more difficult to suppress the insurgents in the northern counties. In the month of October the Earl of *Derwentwater* and Mr. *Foster* took the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of *Scotland*, proclaimed the Pretender in *Warkworth*, *Morpeth*, and *Alnwick*. Their first design was to seize the town of *Newcastle*, in which they had many friends: but they found the gates shut upon them, and retired to *Hexham*, while General *Carpenter* having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to march from *Newcastle* and attack them before they should be reinforced. The rebels retiring northward to *Wooler*, were joined by two hundred Scottish horse under the Lord Viscount *Kenmuir*, and the Earls of *Carnwath* and *Wintoun*, who had set up the Pretender's standard at *Moffat*, and proclaimed him in different parts of *Scotland*. The rebels thus reinforced, advanced to *Kelfo*, having received advice that there they would be joined by *Mackintosh*, who had crossed the *Forth* with a body of Highlanders.

By this time the Earl of *Mar* was at the head of ten thousand well armed men. He had secured the pass of the *Tay* at *Perth*, where his head-quarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of *Fife*, and all the sea-coast on that side of the frith of *Edinburgh*. He selected two thousand five hundred men, commanded by Brigadier *Mackintosh*, to make a descent upon the *Lothian* side, and join the Jacobites in that county, or such as should take arms on the borders of *England*. Boats were assembled for this pur-

pose; and, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken by the King's ships in the frith, to prevent the design, above fifteen hundred chosen men made good their passage in the night, and landed on the coast of *Lothian*, having crossed an arm of the sea about sixteen miles broad, in open boats that passed through the midst of the King's cruisers. Nothing could be better concerted, or executed with more conduct or courage, than was this hazardous enterprize. They amused the king's ships with marches and countermarches along the coast, in such a manner that they could not possibly know where they intended to embark. The Earl of *Mar* in the mean time marched from *Perth* to *Dumblaine*, as if he had intended to cross the forth at *Stirling-bridge*: but his real design was to divert the Duke of *Argyle* from attacking his detachment which had landed at *Lothian*. So far, the scheme succeeded. The Duke who had assembled some troops in *Lothian*, returned to *Stirling* with the utmost expedition, after having secured *Edinburgh*, and obliged *Mackintosh* to abandon his design on that city. He had actually taken possession of *Leith*, from whence he retired to *Seaton-house*, near *Preston-pans*, which he fortified in such a manner that he could not be forced without artillery. Here he remained until he received an order across the frith from the Earl of *Mar*, to join Lord *Kenmuir* and the *English* at *Kelfo*, for which place he immediately began his march, and reached it on the twenty-second day of October, though a good number of his men had deserted on the route.

The Lord *Kenmuir*, with the Earls of *Wintoun*, *Nithsdale*, and *Carnwath*, the Earl of *Derwent-*
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water, and Mr. Foster, with the *English* insurgents, arriving at the same time, a council of war was immediately called. *Wintoun* proposed that they should march immediately into the western parts of *Scotland*, and join General *Gordon*, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders in *Argyleshire*. The *English* insisted upon crossing the *Tweed*, and attacking General *Carpenter*, whose troops did not exceed nine hundred dragoons. Neither scheme was executed. They took the route to *Jedburgh*, where they resolved to leave *Carpenter* on one side, and penetrate into *England* by the western border. The Highlanders supposing that the march of *England* was resolved on, separated themselves in disgust, and went to the top of a rising ground, on *Hawick-moor*, and, resting their arms, declared they would fight if they were led on to the enemy, but would not go into *England*. Whilst they were in this humour, they would allow none to come and speak to them but the Earl of *Wintoun*, who had tutored them in this project, by assuring them if they went to *England* they would be all cut to pieces, or taken and sold for slaves. After a dispute of two hours they at last agreed, that they would keep together as long as they staid in *Scotland*; but upon any motion of going for *England*, they would return back: so they continued their march to *Hawick*. Here the Highlanders, who had always the guard, and did all the duty after they had joined the horse, discovered from their advanced guard a party of horse (who were patrolling in their front) and taking them for enemies, gave the alarm at midnight, and all ran immediately to arms. It was said, that this alarm was designed to try the Highlanders

landers, and to see how they would behave, and whether they would stand cheerfully to their arms if an enemy appeared.

On Oct. the 30th they marched to *Langholme*, from hence there was a strong detachment of horse sent in the night to *Ecclefechan*, with orders to block up *Dumfries*, till they should come up and attack it. Had the rebels been steady in their resolutions, they might very easily have made themselves masters of that town, there being no regular forces in it, but only train-bands, militia, and townsmen, who would not have been able to hold out, nor any fortifications to assist them in the defence of it. Here the rebels also might have furnished themselves with arms, money, and ammunition, which were much wanted, and opened a passage to *Glasgow*, one of the best towns in *Scotland*. The *English* gentlemen were positive for an attempt upon their own country, pretending to have letters from their friends in *Lancashire*, inviting them thither, and assuring them that there would be a general insurrection upon their appearing; and that twenty thousand men would immediately join them. Whether they had any such letters or no, is still a question; but they affirmed it to their army, and urged the advantages of a speedy march into *England* with such vehemence, that they turned the scale, and sent an express after the party of horse they had ordered to *Ecclefechan*, for to return and meet them at *Langtoun* in *Cumberland*. Thus the design of continuing in *Scotland* was abandoned. But the Highlanders, whether dealt with privily by the Earl of *Wintoun*, or being convinced of the advantages they were going to throw away, and the uncertainties they were bringing upon

upon themselves, halted a second time, and would march no farther. However, their leaders were again prevailed with to march by promises, and distributing money to the men. But many of them were still positive, and that to such a degree, that they separated; and about five hundred went off in bodies, choosing rather, as they said, to surrender themselves prisoners, than to go forward to certain destruction. All imaginable means were used to prevent this desertion; but nothing could prevail with them to alter their resolution, for they retired in parties over the mountains. The Earl of *Wintoun* went off likewise with part of his troop, very much dissatisfied at the measures, and declaring they were taking the way to ruin themselves. However, in a little time he returned to the body, though not at all satisfied with their proceedings; and was never afterwards called to any council of war, which incensed him extremely against the rest of the lords and commanding officers. They left the small pieces of cannon, which they had brought from *Kelfo*, at *Langholme*, having nailed them up, and made them unfit for service. They then marched that night to *Langtoun*, about seven miles from *Carlisle*, which was a very long and fatiguing march. Here they had intelligence that Brigadier *Stanwix*, with a party of horse from *Carlisle*, had been there to get intelligence of their numbers and motions; but that upon notice of their coming towards him, he had retired to his garrison, which then consisted of very few men, having made Mr. *Graham* of *Inchbrachy* a prisoner. This night the party ordered to *Ecclefechan* returned and joined the rebels. Next day they entered *England*, and marched to *Brampton*, a market-town,

ket-town, belonging to the Earl of *Carlisle*. Here they proclaimed the Pretender, and Mr. *Foster* opened his commission (brought by Mr. *Douglas* from the Earl of *Mar*) to act as general in *England*. From this time the Highlanders had six-pence per day paid them, to keep them in good order, and under command. The rebels halted one night at *Brampton*, to refresh the men, having marched above one hundred miles in five days. On the 2d of *November* they advanced to *Penrith*, where they expected to have met with some friends to join them for it was reported, that Mr. *Dacre* of *Abbeylanner-coast*, a papist, had promised to raise forty men; but he was prevented by a fever. As they drew near *Penrith*, they had notice, that the sheriff, with the Lord *Lonsdale*, and the Bishop of *Carlisle*, had drawn together the whole posse of *Cumberland*, amounting to about 12,000 men, in order to oppose their progress. The first part of this was very true that the posse was drawn together; nor was their number much less. But they gave the rebel army no occasion to try, whether they would stand or not, for, upon notice of the approach of the rebels, they shamefully dispersed, leaving the Lord *Lonsdale*, with about twenty men besides his own servants who continued on the spot till the rebels appeared, and then he retired. A party was sent to *Loxther-Hall* to see for him, but he was not to be found. This retreat animated the rebels, who made some booty, taking several horses and many arms. Having staid at *Penrith* that night, they marched next day to *Appleby*, where they halted again. On the 5th of *November* they marched to *Kendal*, and on the 6th to *Kirby-Lonsdale*, a small market-town in *Westmorland*, where some few papists, and their

the servants from *Lancashire*, joined them. From this place they marched to *Lancaster* on the 7th, where the famous Colonel *Chartres* and another officer happened to be. Upon the news of their approach, the Colonel proposed to blow up a fine bridge, over which they were to pass, to obstruct their entry into the town; but the inhabitants would not agree to it. The Colonel therefore, thought it adviseable to leave the town, after having ordered some barrels of powder to be thrown into a well, to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels. The rebels having entered *Lancaster* without opposition, performed the usual ceremonies of proclaiming the Pretender, and levying the public revenue. It was thought they would have continued here until they had received the promised succours, the place being easily made tenable against a greater force than the government could command on a sudden: but they were in a great hurry to meet their fate, and left *Lancaster* on the 9th, carrying with them six pieces of cannon which they found there. They directed their march towards *Preston*, where the horse arrived that night, but the foot halted half way. The horse entered *Preston* without opposition; *Stanhope's* regiment of dragoons, and a regiment of militia, having thought proper to retire on the approach of the rebels, which did not a little animate them to see the royal troops thus fly before them. At *Preston* they were joined by a considerable number of gentlemen and their followers, all papists; which very much disgusted the *Scots* gentlemen and Highlanders, because they were made to believe, that all the high-church party would join them. The rebels had once resolved to march out

of *Preston* the next day, in order to enter *Manchester*, where they expected to meet with a considerable reinforcement, and to possess themselves of *Warrington-bridge*, which would have made them masters of the rich town of *Liverpool*. But this design, like all others, that had any shew of prudence, was laid aside for two days, by which time they found themselves otherwise employed.

It is now time to observe what motions the King's troops made to oppose the rebels, who had thus given General *Carpenter* the slip.

While it was yet uncertain which way the rebels would direct their march, the Duke of *Argyle* sent a detachment from his small army at *Stirling*, to hinder their passing the head of the *Forth*, if they should attempt that way to join the Earl of *Mar*. A squadron of dragoons, and one batallion of foot of this detachment were quartered at *Falkirk*, and two hundred dragoons at *Kilsyth*.

General *Carpenter*, upon intelligence that the rebels were in full march towards *Lancaster*, resolved to pursue them with the dragoons only, for the greater expedition; not doubting but he should be joined by the King's troops in the West, in which he was not mistaken, for General *Wills*, who had been sent down some days before to command in the West, having intelligence at *Chester*, that the rebels were advancing towards *Lancaster*, gave orders for all the troops, quartered in those parts, to assemble at *Warrington*, on the borders of that country. When he arrived there, he found only *Preston's* regiment. With that he set out on the 8th of November, and the same day arrived at *Manchester*, where he had intelligence that General *Carpenter* was on his march from *Durham* to
Lancaster

Lancaster, to whom he sent an express, to acquaint that General of his own motions, that they might act in concert. He marched from *Manchester* the 11th, with the regiments of dragoons of *Wynne*, *Honeywood*, *Munden*, and *Dormer*, and *Preston's* regiment of foot, and advanced directly to *Wiggan*, where *Pitt's* horse and *Stanhope's* dragoons were quartered. Understanding here, that the rebels were still at *Preston*, he gave orders for the troops to be ready to march towards that place next morning, be break of day. He formed the horse into three brigades. On the 12th of November they marched to the bridge of *Ribble*, where we shall leave them, to observe what preparations were made for their reception by the rebels.

The same morning General *Foster* gave orders for his army to march, not in the least suspecting the King's troops, and the destruction of all their hopes were so near at hand. He had depended on the intelligence from the *Lancashire* gentlemen, who had promised, that none should advance within forty miles without his knowledge; but it seems they disappointed him; so that he was under the greatest surprise, when he was informed from all hands, that General *Wills* was within sight of him. He went out with a party of horse to view the posture of the King's troops; and upon finding they were in full march towards him, he returned to the town to prepare for their reception.

His men were no ways discouraged, but cheerfully set about the preparations for their defence. They barricadoed the avenues, and posted their men in the streets and by-lanes, and such houses as were properest for galling their enemies. The gentlemen volunteers were posted in the church-

yard, under the command of the Earls of *Derwentwater*, *Wintoun*, and *Nithsdale*, and the Lord *Kennure*. General *Foster* formed four main barriers; the first a little below the church, commanded by Brigadier *Mackintosh*, and supported by the gentlemen volunteers in the church-yard. The second was situated at the end of a lane leading to the fields, and commanded by the Lord *Charles Murray*. The third barrier was near a wind-mill, and commanded by Major *Millar* and Mr. *Douglas*. They threw up several intrenchments in an instant, and did all in their power to make a stout resistance; but were guilty of one capital error, which discovered their ignorance, or rather infatuation. For in the morning, upon the first intelligence of General *Wills's* approach, they had detached *Macpherson* of *Innerecal* Lieutenant-colonel of the Earl *Mar's* regiment, with an hundred chosen men, to take post at the bridge of *Ribble*, which was the only pass the King's troops could enter on that side, the river being fordable only in two places, the one below, and the other above the bridge, and those fords easily made unpassable. The bridge terminates a long narrow lane, where in some parts, not above two can ride abreast. This is the famous lane, where *Oliver Cromwell* met with a stout resistance from the King's troops, who having rolled down several large stones from the height upon him and his men, one of them came so near, that he escaped only by making his horse jump into a quick-sand. But Mr. *Foster*, instead of making advantage of this pass, which he might have done to the destruction of the King's troops, ordered this detachment to return to town, and left the pass free for General *Wills*.

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When General *Wills* came up to the bridge he expected to have met with great difficulties in forcing the pass; but finding it abandoned, he was much surpris'd, and suspected some stratagem, and therefore resolv'd to proceed with caution. Having view'd the hedges, and laid open the way for the cavalry to enter, he found all clear, and not the least appearance of an enemy. This made him conclude, they had abandoned the place, and were endeavouring, by long marches, to return to *Scotland*, but in this he was likewise mistaken. For upon his advancing near the town, he found them in a posture to give him a warm reception, in a place where he could easier come at them, than he could at the bridge of *Ribble*. He immediately prepar'd for an attack, and dispos'd his troops in such a manner as he might best annoy them in the town, and prevent their making an escape.

The General having view'd the disposition of the enemy, and finding all the avenues leading to the town strongly barricaded, and two pieces of cannon plant'd on each; he resolv'd to make two attacks. For the attack of the avenue that leads to *Wiggan*, a captain and fifty dragoons were draughted out of each of the five regiments, with a major and lieutenant-colonel to command them, and order'd to dismount to sustain *Preston's* regiment command'd by the Lord *Forrester*, their lieutenant-colonel; and *Honeywood's* regiment was order'd to remain on horseback to sustain the whole; and the brigadier of that name had the direction of that attack.

The regiment of *Wynne* and *Dormer*, and a squadron of *Stanhope's*, were order'd to dismount under the command of Brigadier *Dormer*, while the
regiments

regiments of *Pitts* and *Munden*, and the remaining Squadron of *Stanhope's* sustained them in the attack of the avenue that leads to *Lancaster*, lying on that side of the town opposite to the attack of the avenue leading to *Wigan*. By the disposition of the King's forces, the four chief barricades of the enemy were easily attacked, but not with the desired success.

The first attack was upon that barricade below the church, commanded by the old Brigadier *Mackintosh*, who received the King's troops very gallantly; and with a terrible fire both from the barricade and the houses, obliged them to retire to the end of town; at the same time the Lord *Forrester*, lieutenant-colonel of *Preston's* foot, entered the avenue of *Wigan*, and took possession of two large houses within fifty yards of the barricade, where he posted his men, finding it impracticable to force the barricade, but from these houses, which overlooked the whole town, he very much annoyed the enemy, and from thence, it is said, they received most of the damage they sustained during the action. These houses had been possessed by the Highlanders, when the barricade was commanded by *Mackintosh*; but they were called off by him to support that barricade, which gave the King's troops an easier possession of them, and perhaps saved the remains of that regiment, which suffered very much in that bold attack. General *Honeywood* ordered the houses between those he possessed and the barricade to be set on fire; which was not done without the loss of men on both sides. He likewise ordered breastworks to be thrown up, both to secure his men, and prevent the rebels from escaping at that quarter of the town.

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The other barricades were attacked with great resolution, but without any success; the King's troops being obliged to retire to the ends of the town, and remain satisfied till they could renew their attempts the next day; for by this time night hindered their farther approaches. Thus far the rebels appeared to have acted with courage, and to have had the advantage, since they had in all the attacks, repulsed their enemies with little or no loss on their side, and a considerable slaughter on the King's. But they did not long continue in this disposition; for having intelligence next morning, that General *Carpenter* had arrived with more troops to surround them, their resolution failed them, and from that moment they acted with great confusion and despair.

Gen. *Carpenter* arrived at *Preston* on the 13th, at ten in the morning, with three regiments of dragoons, Lord *Cobham's*, *Churchill's*, and *Molesworth's*, accompanied by the Earl of *Carlisle*, Lord *Lumley*, and Colonel *Darcy*; ordering *Molesworth's* to the *Manchester* side, and marching the other two to the *Lancaster* side. He found that the rebels had been attacked the day before without success, and that most part of the King's horse and dragoons were crowded in a deep narrow lane near the end of the town, so incommodious, that it was impossible to draw up above three or four in front, and going to view the ground towards the river, he saw there were no troops posted at the end of *Fishergate-street*, to block up that part of the town, where several of the rebels were said to have escaped the night before. This street leads to a marsh or meadow, which joins to that part of the river *Ribble*, where there are two great fords, being

ing the high road towards *Liverpool*; and towards the end of the same street, there was another barricade with two pieces of cannon. General *Carpenter* therefore ordered Colonel *Pitt* to post his two squadrons on that marsh, and likewise a communication to be made for the troops to assist each other in case of a sally. The rebels, being thus invested on all sides, and being now sensible, though too late, of their condition, began to consider what was to be done. The Highlanders were for sallying out upon the King's forces, and dying, as they called it, like men of honour, sword in hand; but they were over-ruled and not allowed to stir. Nor was the motion communicated to the whole body; but General *Foster* resolved upon a capitulation, flattering himself with obtaining good terms from the King's officers. Colonel *Oxburgh* pretending acquaintance with some of them, made an offer to go out, and treat of a surrender. Accordingly he went with a trumpet to General *Wills*, and offering to lay down their arms, and submit themselves, hoped he would recommend them to the King's mercy. The General told the Colonel he would not treat with rebels; for they had killed several of the King's subjects, and they must expect to undergo the same fate. The Colonel said as the General was a man of honour, and an officer, he hoped he would shew mercy to people, who were willing to submit. The General replied, all he would do for them was, that if they laid down their arms, and submitted prisoners at discretion, he would prevent the soldiers from cutting them in pieces till he had further orders; and he would give them but an hour to consider of it. Colonel *Oxburgh* returned into
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the town, to acquaint Mr. *Foster* with this; and before the hour was expired, there came out Mr. *Dalziel*, brother to the Earl of *Carnwarth*, who wanted terms for the *Scots*. The General's answer was; that he would not treat with rebels, nor give them any other terms than what he had before offered them: Upon which the General was desired to grant farther time till seven o'clock next day, to consult the best method of delivering themselves up. The General agreed to grant them the time desired, provided they threw up no new intrenchments in the streets, nor suffered any of their people to escape, and sent the chief of the *English* and *Scots* as hostages for the performance. The General sent in Colonel *Cotton* to bring them out, who accordingly brought out the Earl of *Dervent-water* and Brigadier *Mackintosh*. Next day about seven in the morning, Mr. *Foster* sent out to let the General know, that they were willing to give themselves up prisoners at discretion, as he had demanded. Brigadier *Mackintosh* being present when this message was brought, said, He could not answer that the *Scots* would surrender in that manner, for they were people of desperate fortunes, and he had been a foldier himself, and knew what it was to be a prisoner at discretion. Upon this the General said, "Go back to your people again, and I will attack the town, and the consequence will be, I will not spare a man of you." The Brigadier went back, but came running out immediately again, and said, "Lord *Kenmure* and the other noblemen, with his brother, would surrender in like manner with the *English*."

General *Carpenter* entered one side of the town and General *Wills* the other, with all their troops;

with trumpets sounding, drums beating, and colours displayed. They both met in the middle of the town, where the Highlanders were drawn up under arms. The noblemen and gentlemen were first secured in several inns, and the Highlanders then laid down their arms in the place where they were standing, and they were next secured under a proper guard.

General *Carpenter* finding the place too narrow to contain all the horse that were with him, sent part of them to *Wiggan* the same day, and went away himself the next, leaving General *Wills* to command in his absence.

Mr. *Foster* was by most people blamed for the surrender, without obtaining better terms for those whom he had drawn into the enterprise. His want of skill was acknowledged on all hands, and this was what he could be least blamed for, since he was made General, as the only protestant of note of the party.

In the attack upon *Preston*, Brigadier *Honeywood* received a contusion on the shoulder by a musket shot, and Major *Bland* a slight one in the arm, and his horse was shot through the neck. At Brigadier *Honeywood's* attack there were killed two captains, one ensign, and twenty-eight private soldiers; wounded, Lord *Forrester*, Major *Lawson*, two captains, one lieutenant, four ensigns, and fifty private men. At Brigadier *Dormer's* attack there were nine men killed; wounded the Brigadier, one captain, one lieut. one cornet and thirty-nine men.

The noblemen, gentlemen, and others of the *English* taken prisoners amounted to 463; and the *Scots* noblemen, gentlemen, and their vassals to 1005. The common men were imprisoned at

Chester

Chester and *Liverpool*: the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to *London*, conveyed thro' the streets, pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the *Tower* and to *Newgate*.

The very day on which the rebels surrendered at *Preston*, was remarkable for the battle of *Dumblaine*, fought between the Duke of *Argyle* and the Earl of *Mar*, who commanded the Pretender's forces. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at *Perth*, when he understood the Duke was returned from *Lothian* to *Stirling*. But being now joined by the northern clans under the Earl of *Seaforth*, and those of the west commanded by general *Gordon*, who had signalized himself in the service of the Czar of *Muscovy*, he resolved to pass the *Forth*, in order to join his southern friends, that they might march together into *England*. With this view he marched to *Auchterardere*, where he reviewed his army, and rested on the eleventh day of November. The Duke of *Argyle*, apprised of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons from *Ireland*, determined to give him battle in the neighbourhood of *Dumblaine*. On the twelfth day of the month he passed the *Forth* at *Stirling*, and encamped with his left at the village of *Dumblaine*, and his right towards *Sheriff-moor*. The Earl of *Mar* advanced within two miles of his camp, and remained till day-break in order of battle; his army consisting of nine thousand effective men, cavalry as well as infantry. In the morning the Duke understanding they were in motion, drew up his forces which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, on the heights to the north-east of *Dumblaine*: but he was outflanked both on the right and left. The clans that

formed part of the center and right wing of the enemy, with *Claranald* and *Glengary* at their head, charged the left of the King's army sword in hand, with such impetuosity that in seven minutes both horse and foot were totally routed with great slaughter; and General *Whetham* who commanded them, fled at full gallop to *Stirling*, where he declared that the royal army was totally defeated. In the mean time, the Duke of *Argyle* who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of *Stair's* and *Evans's* dragoons, and drove them two miles before him as far as the water of *Allan*: though in that space they wheeled about and attempted to rally ten times; so that he was obliged to press them hard, that they might not recover from their confusion. Brigadier *Wightman* followed, in order to sustain him with three battalions of infantry; while the victorious right wing of the rebels having pursued *Whetham* a considerable way, returned to the field, and formed in the rear of *Wightman*, to the amount of five thousand men. The Duke of *Argyle* returning from the pursuit, joined *Wightman*, who had faced about and taken possession of some inclosures and mud-walls, in expectation of being attacked. In this posture both armies fronted each other till the evening, when the Duke drew off towards *Dumblaine*, and the rebels retired to *Ardoch*, without mutual molestation. Next day the Duke marched back to the field of battle, carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the enemy, and retreated to *Stirling*. Few prisoners were taken on either side: the number of the slain might be about five hundred of each army, and both generals claimed the victory.

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This battle was not so fatal to the Highlanders as the loss of *Inverness*, from which Sir *John Mackenzie* was driven by *Simon Frazer*, Lord *Lovat*, who, contrary to the principles he had hitherto professed, secured this important post for the government; by which means a free communication was opened with the north of *Scotland*, where the Earl of *Sutherland* had raised a considerable body of vassals. The Marquis of *Huntley* and the Earl of *Seaforth* were obliged to quit the rebel army, in order to defend their own territories; and in a little time submitted to King *George*: a good number of the *Frazers* declared with their chief against the Pretender; the Marquis of *Tullibardine* withdrew from the army to cover his own country, and the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, began to disperse, according to custom.

The government was now in a condition to send strong reinforcements to *Scotland*. Six thousand men that were claimed of the States General by virtue of the treaty, landed in *England*, and began their march for *Edinburgh*: General *Cadogan* set out for the same place, together with Brigadier *Petit* and six other engineers; and a train of artillery was shipped at the *Tower* for that country, the Duke of *Argyle* resolving to drive the Earl of *Mar* out of *Perth*, to which town he had retired with the remains of his forces. The Pretender having been amused with the hope of seeing the whole kingdom of *England* rise up as one man in his behalf; and the Duke of *Ormond* having made a fruitless voyage to the western coast, to try the disposition of the people, he was now convinced of the vanity of his expectation in that quarter; and as he knew not what other course to take, he resolved

solved to hazard his person among his friends in *Scotland*, at a time when his affairs in that kingdom were absolutely desperate. From *Brittany* he posted through part of *France*, in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at *Dunkirk*, hired for that purpose, arrived on the twenty-second day of December at *Peterhead*, with six gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the Marquis of *Tinmouth*, son to the Duke of *Berwick*. He passed through *Aberdeen* incognito to *Fetterosse*, where he was met by the Earls of *Mar* and *Marischal*, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. Here he was solemnly proclaimed, his declaration, dated at *Commercy*, was printed and circulated through all the parts in that neighbourhood; and here he received addresses from the episcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the diocese of *Aberdeen*. On the fifth day of January, he made his public entry into *Dundee*; and on the seventh arrived at *Scoon*, where he seemed determined to stay until the ceremony of his coronation should be performed. From thence he made an excursion to *Perth*, where he reviewed his forces. He then formed a regular council; and published proclamations for a regular thanksgiving, on account of his safe arrival; enjoining the ministers to pray for him in churches, establishing the currency of foreign coins, summoning the meeting of the convention of estates, ordering all sensible men to repair to his standard, and fixing the twenty-third day of January for his coronation. He made a pathetic speech in a grand council, at which all the chiefs of his party assisted. Here they determined to abandon the enterprize, as the King's army was reinforced by the *Dutch* auxiliaries

auxiliaries, and they themselves were not only reduced to a small number, but likewise destitute of money, arms, ammunition, forage, and provision: for the Duke of *Argyle* had taken possession of *Bruntisland*, and transported a detachment to *Fife*, so as to cut off *Mar's* communication with that fertile county.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather and a prodigious fall of snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, the Duke, on the twenty-ninth day of January, began his march to *Dumblaine*, and next day reached *Tullibardine*, where he received intelligence that the Pretender and his forces had, on the preceding day, retired towards *Dundee*. He forthwith took possession of *Perth*; and then began his march to *Aberbrothick*, in pursuit of the enemy. The Chevalier de *St. George* being thus hotly pursued, was prevailed upon to embark on board of a small *French* ship that lay in the harbour of *Montrose*. He was accompanied by the Earls of *Mar* and *Melfort*, the Lord *Drummond*, Lieutenant-general *Bulkely*, and other persons of distinction to the number of seventeen. In order to avoid the *English* cruisers, they stretched over to *Norway*, and coasting along the *German* and *Dutch* shores, arrived in five days at *Gravelin*. General *Gordon*, whom the Pretender had left commander in chief of the forces, with the assistance of the Earl *Marischal*, proceeded with them to *Aberdeen*, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, and take on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the continent. They continued their march through *Strathspey* and *Strathdown*, to the hills of *Badenoch*, where the common people were quietly dismissed. This re-

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treat was made with such expedition, that the Duke of *Argyle*, with all his activity, could never overtake their rear-guard, which consisted of a thousand horse; commanded by the Earl *Marischal*.

On the meeting of Parliament, Jan. 9th, 1716, seven rebel Lords were impeached of high treason, viz. The Earl of *Derwentwater*, Lord *Waddington*, the Earl of *Nithsdale*, the Earl of *Wintoun*, the Earl of *Carnwath*, Viscount *Kenmure*, and Lord *Nairn*. These noblemen being brought to the bar of the house of lords, heard the articles of impeachment read on the tenth day of January, and were ordered to put in their answers on the sixteenth. The impeachments being lodged, the lower-house ordered a bill to be brought in for continuing the suspension of the habeas corpus act; then they prepared another to attain the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, the Earls of *Mar* and *Linlithgow*, and Lord *John Drummond*. On the twenty-first day of January, the King gave the royal assent to the bill for continuing the suspension of the habeas corpus act. He told the parliament that the Pretender was actually in *Scotland*, heading the rebellion, and assuming the stile and title of King of these realms: he demanded of the commons such supply as might discourage any foreign power from assisting the rebels. On Thursday the nineteenth day of January, all the impeached Lords pleaded guilty to the articles exhibited against them, except the Earl of *Wintoun*, who petitioned for a longer time, on various pretences. The rest received sentence of death on the ninth day of February, in the court erected in *Westminster-hall*, where the lord chancellor *Cowper* presided as lord high-steward on that occasion. The Countess of
Nithsdale

Nithsdale and Lady *Nairn* threw themselves at the King's feet as he passed through the apartments of the palace, and implored his mercy in behalf of their husbands: but their tears and intreaties produced no effect. The council resolved that the sentence should be executed, and accordingly orders were given for that purpose to the lieutenant of the *Tower*, and the sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*.

The countess of *Derwent-water*, with her sister, accompanied by the Dutchesse of *Cleveland* and *Bolton*; and several other ladies of the first distinction, was introduced by the Dukes of *Richmond* and *St. Albans*, into the King's bedchamber, where she invoked his majesty's clemency for her unfortunate consort. She afterwards repaired to the ladies of the other condemned lords, and above twenty others of the same quality, and begged the intercession of the house: but no regard was paid to their petition. Next day, they petitioned both houses of parliament. The commons rejected their suit. In the upper house, the Duke of *Richmond* delivered a petition from the Earl of *Derwentwater*, to whom he was nearly related. The Earl of *Derby* expressed some compassion for the numerous family of Lord *Nairn*. But all proved ineffectual to revoke their sentences. Orders were dispatched for executing the Earls of *Derwentwater* and *Nithsdale*, and the Viscount of *Kenmuir*, immediately; the others were respited to the 7th day of March. *Nithsdale* made his escape in womens apparel, furnished and conveyed to him by his mother. On the 24th day of Feb. *Derwentwater* and *Kenmuir* were beheaded on *Tower-hill*. The former was an amiable youth, brave, open, generous, hospitable,

ble, and humane. His fate drew tears from the spectators, and was a great misfortune to the country in which he lived. He gave bread to multitudes of people whom he employed on his estate: the poor, the widow, and the orphan, rejoiced in his bounty. *Kenmuir* was a virtuous nobleman, calm, sensible, resolute, and resigned. He was a devout member of the *English* church: but the other died in the faith of *Rome*: both adhered to their political principles. On the fifteenth day of March, *Wintoun* was brought to his trial, and being convicted, received sentence of death.

About this time his Majesty informed both houses of the Pretender's flight from *Scotland*. In April, a commission for trying the rebels in the court of common-pleas was granted, when bills of high-treason were found against Mr. *Foster*, *Mackintosh*, and twenty of their confederates. *Foster* escaped from *Newgate*, and reached the continent in safety; the rest pleaded Not guilty, and were indulged with time to prepare for their trials. The judges appointed to try the rebels at *Liverpool* found a considerable number guilty of high-treason. Twenty-two were executed at *Preston* and *Manchester*; about a thousand prisoners submitted to the King's mercy, and petitioned for transportation. Brigadier *Mackintosh* and several other prisoners broke from *Newgate*, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the centinel. The court proceeded with the trials of those that remained; a great number was found guilty, and four or five were hanged at *Tyburn*.

Such was the issue of a rebellion that proved fatal to so many noble families.

F I N I S.

